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THE  
SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY  
AND  
THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

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THE CORRESPONDENCE  
BETWEEN  
PROFESSOR CAIRNES, A. M., AND GEORGE M'HENRY, ESQ.

[REPRINTED FROM THE "DAILY NEWS."]

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,  
BY  
THE REV. GEORGE B. WHEELER, A. M.

"This is a great subject ; it affects the future stage of civilization ; it affects the well-being of the black race, whom it was the crime of our ancestors to introduce to America—on behalf of whose welfare we have been ready to make great efforts, and to sacrifice much ; but we will not sacrifice any of our views to mere pretence."—EARL RUSSELL, at *Blairgowrie*.

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## NOTICE.

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SOME friends to the cause of the Confederate States, resident in Ireland, desired that the letters of George M'Henry, Esq., in reply to Professor Cairnes, originally published in the "Daily News," should be reprinted. These letters contain valuable information respecting the internal economy of the South. Once it was determined to republish the defence, it became necessary, for the sake of clearness and in the spirit of fair play, to publish the attack. In Professor Cairnes the Northerns have an able and energetic champion, such a one as they have not produced from among themselves. The friends of the South are satisfied to rest their case, so far as the subject of the correspondence is concerned, on the defence made by Mr. M'Henry.

In preparing the correspondence for the press, I have thrown together some results, sufficiently remarkable, of my own reading. I regret that in the letters there occur one or two phrases which, had circumstances permitted, I would gladly have erased. The subject is altogether too grave and too important to admit of sharpness or repartee. I have addressed myself, I hope in a proper spirit, to only four questions; for the portico should not be of greater extent than the building itself. These questions are—

1st. Do the statistics of the last American census fairly

warrant the inference that an internal slave trade exists between Virginia and the Gulf States?

2nd. Is the slavery question reasonably stated to have been the cause of disruption?

3rd. Is emancipation suddenly effected, and by force of arms, expedient or possible? and,

4th. Is it true that the war was undertaken by President Lincoln and the Northerners for the limitation or abolition of slavery?

I have addressed myself to these questions in particular, because they bear upon the assertions recently made in public by an advocate of the North, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, and, if I do nothing else in this brief paper, κυλίω καὶ τὸν πίθον, ὥς μὴ μόνος ἀργεῖν δοκοίην ἐν τούτοις ἐργαζομένοις.

G. B. W.

29, TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

Nov. 15th, 1863.



## INTRODUCTION.

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So averse to careful investigation are mankind in general, that if an interested cry be repeated with moderate persistence, but immoderate vehemence, it will probably be assented to by the multitude. We do not say it will be believed—for belief requires thought—but it will be acted upon and treated as true, and its consequences may be as important as if action were the result of deliberate and anxious examination. In this age the minds of men spring rapidly to conclusions, and that man is thanked whose dogmatism relieves others from the labour of investigation. This is especially the case if on the surface there are some appearances which seem to confirm the views persistently urged by interested advocates. The grand desideratum of hostile parties is a good cry; not that the cry may be in itself good, that is, founded on truth, but that it may be plausible, and likely to recommend those who use it, or to cast opprobrium upon their opponents. In this sense a good cry has been found by the Northern States of America, and has been taken up and repeated by many, through different motives. As the spirit of the British people is determinedly opposed, not merely to actual slavery, but to every system assuming its appearance, and as slavery exists as a fact in the Southern States of America, it was easy to assert that the Southern took up arms solely for the extension of slavery. We are urgently required to believe that all who sympathize with a gallant people, struggling for independence, are “slavers,” or champions in defence of “slavery,” and that

all who wrestle for Northern supremacy are "liberators of their species, and benefactors to mankind." Secession has been represented as the disruption and departure of "slave drivers" from generous, disinterested, moderate, unaggressive, liberating philanthropists. The Northerners are paraded before Europe as men who have heroically resolved to sacrifice their all in order to give freedom to negroes, with whom they would have nothing in common, and whom some Northern States would not admit within their own frontier.\* The cry of "freedom for the slave" has been so persistently repeated, that at last some who used it actually believe it to be genuine. Once this point was reached the next step was easy; from journals, pamphlets, and lecture rooms it is proclaimed that the war was undertaken by the Southerners, not to free themselves from a most oppressive system of protection,—not against illegal interference with the rights of independent states, not against a tyrannical usurpation of authority or against a persistent system of irritating calumny, but for the maintenance and extension of slavery. The South, we are solemnly told, has exhausted its lands, although these lands produced 5,000,000 bales of cotton in 1860, in addition to all their other products. To replace the "worn-out" soil of the South†

\* Among the Northern Americans themselves, to this moment, there is a great diversity of professed opinion respecting the cause of the war. One party, agreeing with the Ultra-Abolitionists in England, assert that the sole issue raised by the last presidential election was the extension or exclusion of slavery from the "Territories;" another, that it arose from an anxiety to destroy the slave power within the Southern States themselves; a third, to which Mr. Motley belongs, that the real object is to maintain inviolate the true principles of the constitution of 1789, and the sovereignty of the abstract Union over State rights; and a fourth, that the ambition of the Northerners to establish a military despotism, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the desire to carry out in practice the Monroe theory, was the cause. A fifth party assign it to the anxiety of the New Englanders to establish a protected manufacturing power, as opposed to the free trade tendencies of the South. Mr. Lincoln, to the last moment, asserted that there was really nothing at all to fight about.

† It is a great mistake to suppose that the production of cotton exhausts the soil—a still greater mistake to suppose that cotton can be best cultivated in the

Mexico, Central America, South America, Cuba, and the West India Islands were to be seized ; the "intentions" of Southern statesmen were said to tend to the establishment of a gigantic Slave Power, whose black shadow was to darken the hopes of the world, and specially to chill the humane efforts of benevolent New Englanders. Whence the slaves were to be acquired who were to render all these countries productive, and to win food from the earth while their masters entered on their career of universal conquest, is not stated. The Southern States, long before their separation from England, had abolished the foreign slave trade ; when they became independent of Britain, they made their laws against the trade more stringent ; and the Confederacy, before it breathed freely from its birth throes, in the first charter of its new-born liberty, prohibited the African slave trade for all time to come. Yet, in defiance of facts, and in outrage of common sense, the cry is repeated until it becomes deafening, "The North fights to liberate the slave—the South secedes to extend the limits of slavery."\*

Let us examine calmly and dispassionately four questions recently revived, connected with this mass of assertion, and ascertain on what grounds they rest.

virgin soil of the Territories. Cotton, sugar, and rice do not, as a fact, exhaust the productive powers of the earth. After these crops the soil requires far less manure than after any other ; these staples are almost self-sustaining. Tobacco does wear out the soil ; but then tobacco is only cultivated in the Border States, and can be managed by white labour, but in more southern climates the toil is too severe for the European race.

\* Virginia was the first State to abolish the African slave trade. In 1776, she recited in the preface to her constitution a complaint that the King of England, by an inhuman use of his negative, had refused the Virginians permission to exclude African slaves by law. In 1698 South Carolina placed restrictions on the Slave trade, and in 1764 placed a duty of £100 on each slave imported ; in 1787, when independent, she enacted that no negro or other slave shall be imported from Africa, or *from any other State unless accompanied by his master*. Georgia prohibited the slave trade in 1798. Alabama never permitted the African slave trade to be carried on. The other Southern States adopted, at an early period, laws restricting the slave trade, similar to those of North Carolina, or Virginia.

## I.

DO THE STATISTICS OF THE LAST AMERICAN CENSUS FAIRLY WARRANT THE INFERENCE THAT AN INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE EXISTS BETWEEN VIRGINIA AND THE GULF STATES?

Two arguments are advanced by the assailants of the South, to prove that an *internal* slave trade exists between Virginia and the Gulf States. It is argued by MR. SENIOR, that, instead of increasing at the rate of 28 per cent., in the decade between 1850 and 1860, the slaves in Virginia increased at the rate of only  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. From this fact it is inferred "that Virginia had exported her human crop to Texas, Alabama, and Florida." The suppressed premiss from which this conclusion is drawn is this:—"Every State whose slaves do not increase in equal proportion to those of other States exports her slaves." Stated thus, the fallacy is at once apparent. Every one sees that the climate of one State, such as Virginia, may be less calculated to insure the increase of the negro population than that of a more tropical region, such as Florida, Alabama, and Texas. Negroes do not increase in Maryland, on the borders of Pennsylvania, or in the North in general, as they do in the South: are we to infer that Maryland and Pennsylvania sell their negroes to the South? A remarkable passage in the despatch of the Hon. Mr. Stuart to the British Foreign Secretary throws some light on this point: he says (p. 287, *Report*, 1863):—

"Of the entire population of the United States, in 1860, 26,975,575 are white, and the remaining 4,441,765 are coloured. Of the latter, 3,953,700 are slaves, leaving 488,005 free coloured persons. The increase of these last, although including liberated and escaped slaves, had, during the previous thirty years, *been proportionally much less than that of the slaves*. This is partly attributed to an excessive mortality amongst free coloured persons in the large Northern cities."\*

\* The city registrar of Boston observes (1862):—"The number of coloured births in this city for the five years ending in 1859 was one less than the number of marriages, and the deaths exceeded the births in the proportion of nearly two to one. In Providence, Rhode Island, in 1860, the deaths are one out of



If the mortality of *free* negroes be so great in the cities of the North as to influence materially the return of the census for all America, is it unreasonable to suppose that the mortality is also more considerable in Virginia, separated only by a river from Maryland, than in a greater degree of Southern latitude?

A curious phenomenon presents itself to one who inquires into the statistics respecting *free* and *slave* negroes. Let us take, for example, the returns for the British West India Islands; here we find the negroes, under what would be called most favourable circumstances, not increasing in the proper ratio, and in some cases very considerably diminishing in proportion. The last census places the population of Trinidad, in 1860, at 84,438, being an *apparent* increase of 14,829 over the population in 1850; but the Governor is compelled to state, "that putting aside the addition made to the population by the importation of Coolies from India, *but a small margin* is left for natural increase, and for that occasioned by the influx of voluntary immigrants from the neighbouring colonies, which is very considerable." The population of Grenada, in 1861, was 31,900, while it was 32,418 in 1851. In Tobago the enumeration of 1851 gave the population at 14,378 souls; at the very lowest estimate, namely 22 per cent., the increase in 1861 ought to have been about 3200; but it is only 1032. The Governor of St. Vincent states, "that there has been little or no increase in population" in the ten years. In St. Lucia the population is 26,705 souls, an increase of 1536, while the increase ought to have been 5500; the Governor attributes the smallness of increase to cholera, and "bites of venomous serpents, which kill 30 people yearly!" In Antigua the population, in 1861, was 35,408, and in 3 years the increase was less

every twenty-four of the coloured race: in Philadelphia, during the last six months of the census year, there were 184 births, and 306 deaths, among the negroes. In the State registries of Rhode Island and Connecticut, where the distinction of colour has been specified, the yearly deaths of the blacks and mulattoes have generally, though not uniformly, exceeded the yearly births,—a high rate of mortality, chiefly ascribed to consumption, and other diseases of the respiratory system. The free coloured population shows an actual decrease in the ten years, 1850 to 1860, in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, and Oregon, and their increase in the other free States was very trifling."

than 2 per cent.; the Governor remarks,—“ This is contrary to what might be expected in a favourable climate, where the wants of life are comparatively few, and where there has been, happily, no epidemic disease.”

In Montserrat the increase for the ten years is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the entire population, or about the tenth of the increase of negroes in all the continent of America. A partisan hostile to England might bring these facts forward to prove that the negroes in the British islands were clandestinely sold. We know that the low rate of increase can be, and has been, satisfactorily accounted for; but is it honest to refuse to the South credit for her explanation of the low increase in Virginia? On what fair principle between man and man must we assert that the South is false in attributing the apparently diminished rate of increase to the fact that there has been a considerable emigration of owners, with their slaves, into the Southern States from Virginia, while we admit that the Governor of St. Lucia is right in attributing the low rate of increase in his population partly to the bite of venomous serpents?

The second argument brought forward by the opponents of the South is still more plausible,—stating that the natural increase of the negro, as shown by the census returns, is on a par with that of the whites up to fifteen years of age, and that then it suddenly declines, they assert that the reason is “because the slaves, on reaching fifteen years of age, are sold to the South, and consequently disappear from the census returns.” What will these reasoners say when we produce a case strikingly similar from a British colony? The Governor of Barbadoes, while congratulating the Duke of Newcastle on the satisfactory results of the census in his department, says:—“ Your Grace will perceive that nearly one half of the population of 152,727, in 1861, consists of persons under fifteen years of age!” That is, there are 70,070 children under fifteen; and the total increase in this satisfactory return is but  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for the ten years, although there is a population of 16,594 whites in the island. Is there any manipulator of statistics who will venture to say that in Barbadoes the moment a black has reached fifteen years of age he is sold?

## II.

IS THE SLAVERY QUESTION REASONABLY STATED TO HAVE BEEN THE  
 \* CAUSE OF THE DISRUPTION?

In considering the possible causes of the present Secession, the just historian would feel it to be his duty to ascertain whether there had been a previous Secession, and whether the causes which originated that prior Secession remained in full force at the period of the succeeding Secession. If he found that a Secession had previously taken place because a customs tariff most injurious and unjust towards the South had been instituted, and that a tariff more injurious was the law at the period of the second Secession, while one still more oppressive was impending, he would believe that this trebly hostile tariff, among other causes at least, tended to originate the second Secession. We find, then, that on the revision of the United States' tariff in 1832, heavy import duties were imposed upon all manufactured articles consumed by the South. There was a struggle between the manufacturing interests of the North and the agricultural interests of the South, in which the former obtained the victory. We know something of a similar struggle in this country, and of the exasperation which it created. When mercenary motives are involved, it is almost vain to reason in favour of justice and fairness; and the Southerners of South Carolina summoned a convention, and solemnly declared the tariff null and void, on the ground that "Congress had exceeded its just powers under the constitution, which confers on it no authority to afford such protection; and had violated the true meaning and intent of the constitution, which provides for equality in imposing the burdens of taxation on the several States." Here was a bold assertion of State right against Federal authority; and so far had secession proceeded, that South Carolina armed her militia, and prepared for a vigorous defence: then, as recently, the foremost in defence, she relied upon the adhesion of other allies whose interests were similar to her own. The perils of secession, though not the right to secede, were obviated by the policy of President Jackson and Mr. Clay. The latter prepared a measure providing for a considerable reduction of the duties

upon manufactures, and hurried it through the houses. In 1842, the United States' treasury was exhausted, and Mr. Clay's tariff underwent revision. The changes made were all against the agricultural interests of the South, and in favour of the manufacturing interests of the North. Moreover, the election of Mr. Lincoln, among other questions, settled this—that a tariff of the most hostile character to the South would assuredly be passed. This has become the law, under the name of the Morrill tariff; and, respecting it, it need only be said that it imposes a duty of 50 per cent. upon the value of all imported manufactures,—in other words, the Southerners were required to pay to the manufacturers of the North a bonus, or protective duty, of 50 per cent. If a hostile tariff caused Secession in 1832, Secession was natural under a still more hostile tariff in 1861. In common candour, the recent Secession should not be solely attributed to the question of slavery.

Connected with this subject, there are some returns possessing very great significance.

The total EXPORTS of the Northern States, in 1859, were of the value of 169,212,287 dollars, or about £36,242,457.\*

\* In speaking of the exports of the Northern States, we must remember that a very large proportion of these exports consisted of articles which were the produce of the South. To show the extent of this internal trade, ending in an export trade, we need only take a single Northern port and its internal traffic. In the Reports of Her Majesty's Consuls, June 30th, 1863, p. 518, we find the following notice, written by the British consul at Boston:—

“ *Southern Produce.*—The receipts of some articles of Southern produce show a large falling off during the year, as follows:—

Articles.	1861.	1860.	Decrease.
Cotton, . . . . . Bales,	191,777	381,999	190,189
Rice, . . . . . Casks,	3,601	9,570	5,969
Rosin, . . . . . Barrels,	21,136	71,956	50,820
Turpentine, . . . . . ”	842	5,253	4,411
Spirits of Turpentine, . . . Gallons,	8,250	28,910	20,661
Pitch, . . . . . Barrels,	2,353	3,165	812
Tar, . . . . . ”	18,906	19,101	195

“ The prices of these articles have advanced to unusually high figures. The value of cotton has increased full 100 dollars a bale.”



The total IMPORTS reached 305,813,378 dols., or £61,162,675, i. e. an excess of £24,920,218. We shall now see how that vast excess was disposed of.

The EXPORTS of the Confederate States were of the value of 178,340,776 dols., or about £35,668,155; while the IMPORTS reached only 23,240,831 dols., or £4,648,160—or an excess of exports over imports of £31,019,995.\*

The interpretation of these figures is this:—The Southern were compelled to buy from the Northern manufacturers the worth of £31,000,000 in Northern goods; on which sum they paid a protective duty of 35 per cent.—in other words, the Southern

\* The full figures are as follows:—

VALUE, IN DOLLARS, OF THE EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF EACH STATE,  
DURING YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1859.  
FEDERAL STATES.

States and Territories.	EXPORTS.			IMPORTS.
	American Produce.	Foreign Produce.	Total.	
California, . . .	12,405,184	3,514,004	15,919,188	11,163,558
Connecticut, . .	1,130,069	14,242	1,144,311	491,067
Delaware, . . .	49,511	. . .	49,511	529
Illinois, . . . .	1,269,385	. . .	1,269,385	93,588
Indiana, <sup>a</sup> . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Iowa, <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Maine, . . . . .	2,774,408	466,421	3,240,839	2,157,086
Massachusetts, .	16,036,603	2,122,215	18,158,818	43,184,500
Michigan, . . . .	3,624,624	. . .	3,624,624	1,067,339
Minnesota, <sup>a</sup> . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
New Hampshire, .	9,605	188	9,793	23,227
New Jersey, . . .	21,938	. . .	21,938	5,046
New York, . . . .	104,726,546	12,813,279	117,539,825	229,181,349
Ohio, . . . . .	263,011	. . .	263,011	267,846
Oregon, . . . . .	5,000	. . .	5,000	2,097
Pennsylvania, . .	5,278,635	96,591	5,375,226	14,520,331
Rhode Island, . .	292,090	18,723	310,813	1,819,068
Vermont, . . . .	295,659	840,906	1,136,565	1,802,668
Wisconsin, . . . .	699,088	. . .	699,088	28,946
Washington Territory, }	444,352	. . .	444,352	5,133
Total, . . . . .	149,325,718	19,886,569	169,212,287	305,813,378

<sup>a</sup> No returns are furnished from these States.

paid a bonus of £11,000,000 annually to Northern manufacturers, and paid it out of the proceeds of cotton and tobacco exported to England and other countries.

These figures also suggest that an export trade to the South, of the value of 31 millions, is open to the Power which first recognises the Southern Confederacy. If France is to be that power, then France undertakes a manifest risk, and is entitled to be rewarded by a more favourable scale of duties than that imposed on the products of other nations. When Louisiana was sold to the United States by the Great Napoleon, that potentate required and obtained a monopoly of free trade for his exports for 12 years; the present Emperor of the French is fond of resuscitating the *idees Napoléennes*; and who could justly murmur if, in gratitude for his recognition and possibly for his aid, the Southernns give to France free trade in cotton? It should be remembered that free trade is *at present* a principle with the South.

In the monetary article of the *Times* of Wednesday, September 23, there occurs this sentence:—

“Come what may, throughout the future all our great trading relations with America must, as heretofore, be with the North.”

Is this so evident? Is it likely, or even reasonable? Why

#### CONFEDERATED STATES.

States and Territories.	EXPORTS.			IMPORTS.
	American Produce.	Foreign Produce.	Total.	
Alabama, . . .	28,933,662	. . .	28,933,662	788,164
Arkansas, <sup>a</sup> . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Florida, . . .	3,128,650	63,712	3,192,362	286,971
Georgia, . . .	15,562,154	. . .	15,562,154	624,645
Louisiana, . . .	100,890,689	775,840	101,666,538	18,349,516
Mississippi, <sup>a</sup> . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
North Carolina,	435,409	. . .	435,409	168,645
South Carolina,	17,972,580	. . .	17,972,580	1,438,535
Tennessee, <sup>a</sup> . . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Texas, . . .	3,855,879	30	3,855,909	468,162
Virginia, . . .	6,715,133	7,029	6,722,162	1,116,193
Total, . . .	177,494,156	846,620	178,340,776	23,240,831

<sup>a</sup> No returns are furnished from these States.

should British merchants prefer and continue to trade only through the North with its all but prohibitive tariff, rather than with the South direct, under free trade? Monetary interests, in public profession at least, must not influence England to recognise the South. But if the South be recognised—if Jefferson Davis repeats the ultimate success of Washington, and wins independence for his country—why should we prefer to send our goods to the North, and pay a duty of 50 per cent., rather than send them to the South, paying only a nominal duty? Is there any reason for this in the nature of things? If England is so self-denying as to reject all calculations of this kind, no one has predicated the same respecting France; and the Genius who rules that country will estimate fully the vast influence the possession of a great and expansive export trade to the South and a monopoly of the Southern cotton trade would give his dominions.

### III.

IS EMANCIPATION SUDDENLY EFFECTED, AND BY FORCE OF ARMS,  
EXPEDIENT OR POSSIBLE?

Conceding, for the purposes of argument, that the Northern States were not animated by a spirit of conquest, and that, were it possible for them to conquer the South, they would not establish a more grievous Slavery under the name of free labour than the negroes had ever endured, let us glance at the nature of an emancipation to be professedly effected suddenly, by force of arms, and as a necessity of war. Neither as regards its extent nor its character should such an emancipation be compared with the emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indian Islands. Into these islands, from the commencement of the British slave trade, had been imported the vast number of 1,700,000 slaves. Under British owners and British law, so far from the negroes having *increased* in number, they diminished in a most extraordinary degree. When the English Emancipation Act was passed, there were but 660,000 Negroes in the British dominions. To liberate 660,000 Slaves is a very different thing from liberating upwards of 4,000,000. The *value* of the slaves in the British possessions was estimated at £20,000,000; the value of the

slaves in the South is generally set down at £500,000,000. At a very early period of the war (April, 1861), when it was supposed that one object of the Federal government was to liberate the slaves, Dr. George Shaw, LL.D., a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, estimated their value at £400,000,000, and he proposed that a capital sum to that amount should be raised by loan, the interest payable on which sum would constitute a national debt, easy to be borne by so great and so progressive a nation, and probably less than the annual cost of the military establishments, and the double cordon of custom houses, which would be required in case of separation. Dr. Shaw recognised the rights of property; and, however vast the sum then appeared to be, events have proved that to buy up the slaves from the South would have been the more economical course by far; the Federal expenditure alone having already reached a total greater than that required, on Dr. Shaw's estimate, for the purchase of the liberty of the Slaves. But, in addition to this "market value" of the slaves themselves, the deterioration of agricultural property in the South is to be considered, and Mr. Spence's estimate of £200,000,000 appears to be a moderate total to allow for that. We thus have property valued, by the lowest estimate, at £600,000,000, to be, on our supposition, taken from the South. We do not believe that England, with all her wealth, generosity, and philanthropy, would suddenly have manumitted her slaves, if so enormous a loss as this had been entailed. If we are to form any opinion respecting the intentions of the Northern government from what they have already done, or from their publications, we infer that their purpose is to confiscate all property in Southern land and in Southern slaves; that is, they will appropriate to themselves £600,000,000 worth of property. They will have a monopoly of cotton wherewith to supply their own mills, and supplant England in that most important article of manufacture. The soldiers of the North or the friends of the authorities are to be located in the South as military colonists, and to exact what they are pleased to call "free labour" from the liberated contrabands. This has already been commenced at Port Royal, in a portion of Louisiana, and of South Carolina. A mere

glance at such a scheme is sufficient to show not only the vast difference in extent, but in character, which exists between England's emancipation of her slaves and that professedly undertaken by the Federals.

The unsatisfactory state to which our West Indian Islands have been reduced, the indolence and apathy of the negroes, the despair which seems to be the end of all great attempts to civilize and elevate them by sudden and spasmodic efforts, ought at least to remind men of Bishop Butler's aphorism, that "one of the worst of evils is unrestricted benevolence."\*

A reasonable man can scarcely contemplate without alarm the sudden liberation of upwards of 4,000,000 of slaves, whom the Northerners represent as "wholly untaught" and therefore unprepared for freedom, "burning under a sense of wrong," "writhing under tyranny," and "with clenched teeth and well-poised bayonet," to use Mr. Lincoln's words, turning upon their masters.

\* "It is a disagreeable conclusion at which to arrive, but I fear it must be admitted that the mass of the population have achieved no elevation of late years in moral or social condition. It is fruitless to waste regrets on past omissions which cannot now be supplied; and doubtless it was almost impossible, on instituting so great a change as that from slavery to freedom, to provide for all the contingencies which might arise from so unaccustomed a social condition being suddenly conferred upon the mass of an unprepared people. No attempt at a probationary state would probably have been successful at the moment, and certainly those colonies where the intermediate 'apprenticeship' was adopted in no respect seem to have benefited more than if—as in the instance of one colony at least—the transition from slavery to perfect freedom had been instantaneous and immediate.

"Yet it is impossible to avoid a feeling of sorrow that, on removing the arbitrary government of a state of slavery, it was not endeavoured by some means artificially to apply the stimulus to industry, and effort after social progress, which in other communities has been the gradual growth of advancing civilization. If from the first the negro population had been made to comprehend that the acquisition of freedom involved responsibilities which they would be required to discharge, the condition of most of these islands would now be very different from what it is. If they then had been told that, becoming freemen, they no longer possessed any claim to have their persons and their property secured, their children educated, their sick and destitute provided for, at the expense of others, and that for these and like purposes they must make direct contribution in the shape of specific taxes in aid of public burdens, both would their moral and social states



Is it to be hoped that freedom granted as an act of retaliation, or as a punishment for alleged treason, would elevate the character of the negro, or increase his chances of regeneration? "I tremble," said Jefferson, "for my country, if we leave the solution to the current of events. Human nature recoils from the prospect before us. The extermination and expulsion of the Moors by the Spaniards would be but a feeble precedent to our condition." Emancipation by war, or by confiscation of property, never entered into the thoughts of the great English liberators. No good end is ever accomplished by fraud, injustice, or violation of private right. No more terrible picture can be presented than that of a multitude of negroes, with fierce and inflammable passions, roused up in a single day against the wives and families of their masters, and ordered by one invested with authority to enjoy to the full the wild justice of revenge. When this war ends, and men can breathe and think calmly on the past, the true character of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation will be estimated righteously. We can

as a people have been much higher at this period, and the present necessity for the introduction of foreign labour have been avoided. But the opportunity was lost, never to be altogether regained; and the indiscriminating kindness of the friends of the negro has wrought great detriment to him. In a country naturally offering every encouragement to idleness, in effect the policy seems to have been still further to enable the labouring classes to satisfy their limited wants at the cheapest possible rate, and the least exertion of either mind or body. And now, while it is difficult to obtain sufficient revenue for necessary public purposes, large sums are expended by the planting body on the introduction of immigrants to prosecute the cultivation of estates for which the native population no longer furnish continuous labour in sufficient amount."—*Report of the Governor of St. Vincent to the Foreign Secretary, presented to Parliament in July, 1863.*

Similar in principle is a clause in the Consolidated Immigration Bill adopted by the Demerara Court of Policy, on the 26th of August last:—

"Further, the Court requests that his Excellency the Governor will express the strong hope of the Court that any captured Africans above the age of 15 years introduced after this date shall be subject to indenture for five years, the Court being satisfied that while the extension of time would be a boon to the employers, it would also tend to the future welfare of the Africans, inasmuch as it would keep them for a longer time under the discipline of instruction and settled habits, and so render them less liable to retire beyond the bounds of civilization on the expiration of their terms of service."

already righteously estimate the conduct of the negroes: they have resisted the strongest incitements to murder, robbery, and outrage, that could possibly be offered to a multitude. Uninfluenced by open and secret inducements to treachery and flight, these negroes have faithfully served their owners' families throughout the most fiery ordeal a nation ever underwent. When they did not guard the homestead or till the fields, they followed the fortunes of their masters, and nursed them, when prostrated by wounds or sickness, with all the tenderness of a woman and the fidelity of a friend. The conduct of the negro has given the lie to all the calumnies so industriously circulated respecting the cruelty of owners to their slaves. It has proved, too, that the negro may be trusted with liberty. There may, indeed, have been in the South some few harsh men, as there are in every country and in every walk of life. Some rare Legrees,—the living types selected by Northern novelists as the representatives of all,—may have moved down South, and outdone the worst of Southerners as taskmasters. Under the strongest temptations and the most powerful incitements the negroes, as a class, have given proofs of the most touching faithfulness; and this, while it is one of the most remarkable facts in history, proves that, as a rule, the Southerners have been mild and liberal to their slaves; such, too, is the testimony of every unbiassed writer who has visited the South.

Nor should it be forgotten that there is a wide difference between instituting slavery and inheriting it—between the policy of a nation which first introduced it into a country and that which was burdened with it by its predecessors. While we utterly deny the right of any man or people to infringe the personal liberty of another, provided he be not guilty of crime, even for his material good, we must pause before we approve of the sudden liberation of 4,000,000 of slaves, who are the offspring of six generations of slave fathers. We do not let out from the cage without preparation the brood whose progenitors have been descended from caged parents. It is to England and to English Kings and Queens that the South is indebted for her inheritance

of slavery.\* It has been said, indeed, that "slavery under the English rule was of the very mildest form, and scarcely deserving of the name."† What becomes then of the scathing denunciations of Wilberforce, Clarkson, and Buxton? Were the narratives of horror told by these great men all false, and their pictures drawn by a heated imagination? A more ancient and, with all respect, a greater authority for the terrible character of slavery under

\* "The first negroes sent to the New World were landed at Hispaniola, in 1501, by order of the Spanish government. After 1516 a company of Genoese merchants conducted the trade, and in 1562 were followed by the English, Sir John Hawkins having discharged a cargo there in that year. The news of his success reaching Queen Elizabeth, she became a partner with him in further voyages. In 1618 James I. granted a charter to Sir Robert Rich and others, giving them the exclusive privilege of carrying on such commerce. A second charter was given by Charles I. in 1631, and so extensive did the business become, that the company erected numerous forts and warehouses on the coasts of the West Indies for their defence and convenience. During the reign of Charles II. (1662) a third company was organized, with the Duke of York at its head, under an engagement to furnish the island colonies with 3000 slaves annually. In 1672 the fourth and last exclusive company was chartered, the King being one of its shareholders; it continued in existence until the Revolution of 1688, when all such privileges were abolished. But the company did not give up its operations; it seized the ships of private traders, until its functions were again recognised, and from the year 1739 to 1746 Parliament voted it £10,000 annually, in consequence of the trade having been made free to all persons in 1698. Queen Anne, in 1713, entered into a treaty with the King of Spain to furnish all his colonies with negroes for thirty years, within which time at least 144,000 were to be imported. Her Majesty, in a speech from the throne, boasted of her success in securing to Englishmen a new market for slaves. Various regulations were enacted for prosecuting the trade, the last of which was made in 1788. Large numbers of Africans were introduced into England, and, as a mark of servitude, wore a collar with the names of their owners. Unless the Spanish imported them at an early day into Florida, it does not seem that slaves were landed on the continent of North America until 1620, when a Dutch vessel brought to Virginia twenty negroes, who were sold; and this was the germ of slaveholding in the States, where, up to 1740, 130,000 had been received; between that date and 1776, 170,000; from which to 1808, 50,000; making a total of 350,000."—*Letter to a Pennsylvanian, by George M'Henry.*

† "Edinburgh Review," October, 1861.



British rule, is at hand. In a sermon but seldom read, however earnestly the other works of Bishop Butler are studied, there is the following striking passage :—

“Of these our colonies, the slaves ought to be considered as inferior members, and therefore to be treated as members of them, and not merely as cattle or goods, the property of their masters. Nor can the highest property possible to be acquired in these servants cancel the obligation to take care of their religious instruction. Despicable as they may appear in our eyes, they are the creatures of God, and of the race of mankind for whom Christ died; and it is inexcusable to keep them in ignorance of the end for which they were made, and the means whereby they may become partakers of the general redemption. On the contrary, *if the necessity of the case requires that they may be treated with the very utmost rigour that humanity will at all permit, as they certainly are, and for our advantage made as miserable as they well can be in the present world;* this surely heightens our obligation to put them into as advantageous a situation as we are able, with regard to another.”

Now, when we find, according to the census, 488,000 free coloured persons, of whom 400,000 are in the South, we see the promise of universal but gradual emancipation. We believe that the exasperating arrogance and irritating menaces of the Northerners have done far more to embitter slavery than either a liking for the institution or interest in its profits to the South. On the recognition of the Southern States, and when they shall be associated with the family of nations, the action of a world of freemen will be most strongly felt upon their institution, and then wise and good men will devise some plan for gradual liberation. The negroes, to carry out Butler's idea, will then become members of the States, and as such contribute to the general burdens. With the example of our West India Islands before her, the South may well be excused from granting universal liberation at the dictation of her enemies. Did she do so now, the act would be attributed to weakness or despair.

## IV.

IS IT TRUE THAT THE WAR WAS UNDERTAKEN BY MR. LINCOLN AND THE NORTHERNS FOR THE LIMITATION OR ABOLITION OF SLAVERY?

Mr. Lincoln was not elected President in order to win by force of arms the liberation of the slaves. He would not have had a chance of election had he proposed to undertake the task. He sought for the Presidency as one determined to uphold the existing institutions of the United States, and amongst these institutions slavery. We suppose he knew, and that his friends knew, the principles entertained by the constituencies, and that he and they framed their language to accord with sentiments popularly held. His language is clear, precise, and unmistakeable, and affords incontrovertible evidence against the cry. In what is called the Chicago platform, Mr. Lincoln thus marks out his political creed:—

“The maintenance inviolate of THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES, and especially the right of each State to order and control its OWN DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends.”

The words “domestic institutions,” in the above extract, constitute the conventional phrase for “slavery.” In 1860, then, and prior to any anticipation of secession or war, even the Republicans engaged to maintain “State rights” and “slavery.” Of these two, slavery has been firmly upheld in practice; for the latest Northern law, as far as it exists by proclamation, is that loyal owners should retain all their rights over slaves. As all Republicans are doubtless loyal men, their rights are unimpeachable, if they possess or acquire slaves. How State rights are upheld let the mode in which the conscription was carried out in New York decide.

Nor did the Republicans or Mr. Lincoln purpose to make any alteration in the FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW. In his inaugural address Mr. Lincoln, reciting the fugitive slave clause of the Federal Constitution, thus comments on it:—

“It is scarcely questioned that this provision was intended

by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call 'fugitive slaves,' and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution, to this provision as well as to any other." He then alludes to an amendment to the Constitution, to be proposed in Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government should never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including slavery; and he says:—"To avoid misconstruction, I say that, holding such a provision to be constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable."\* That addition was formally engrafted on the Constitution, and assented to by the President, on March 3, 1861.

A passage from Mr. Lincoln's inaugural address proves sufficiently that he had, when the address was delivered, no intention of entering upon war for the manumission of the slave:—

"I have," he says, "no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with *the institution of slavery where it exists*. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

He concludes with these remarkable words:—"I reiterate these sentiments (i.e., those propounded at Chicago), and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property† (slaves, as well as the rest), peace, and security of no section are to be in anyways endangered by the now incoming administration."

So far, then, the intentions and policy of Mr. Lincoln and his party were directed to the maintenance of slavery. Of this there cannot be a doubt. The tentative and hesitating measures afterwards adopted are to be attributed, as Mr. Seward says, "to the

\* Hence it appears that the decree of the Montgomery convention is not "the only instance, or the first instance, in history of an irreversible law." See Professor Cairnes, Letter I., p. 5. It is plain that Mr. Lincoln and his official addresses contradict the assertions of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, who astonished his audiences by stating that "the fugitive slave law formed no part of the Constitution."

† The use of this word "property" by Mr. Lincoln is remarkable: the Ultra-abolitionists never allowed that there could exist any "property" in slaves.

necessities of war"—as others believe, to the interested party of the Ultra-abolitionists. As a party, the abolitionists are numerically the smallest in the States ; but they are ever active, always energetic, and, we must add, not seldom unscrupulous. They are at once powerful and dangerous auxiliaries. As defeat and disaster crowded upon the Federal Government, this party dinned into the ears of Mr. Lincoln that "a bold policy," a "blow struck for the emancipation of the negro," would at once regain the forfeited sympathies, and perhaps win the support, of England,—would furnish an ostensible motive for the continuance of the war, and would materially injure the South. At first, then, a proposition was made to purchase the slaves of loyal owners, and the Federal Government actually prepared to vote money to assist the border States in buying up the liberties of the slaves. There were no sellers, however—or sellers only of the halt, the lame, and the blind ; nor would the States contribute money for emancipation. The States in general refused to co-operate in the scheme. Next it was proclaimed that every slave should obtain his freedom in the year of grace 1899, which reminds us of the "apprenticeship for 99 years," once adopted by the American Government. Even the negroes ridiculed this proposition, which, under pretence of making a man free, continued his slavery to a period beyond that of his natural life. Then came the famous ordinance, which enacted that the slaves of disloyal owners should be made free—when they were taken by the United States' armies,\* or when by flight they had, as they fondly

\* In his letter to the Springfield convention, Mr. Lincoln asserts his right to emancipate the slaves of the South, in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief. "The Commander-in-Chief," he says, "in time of war, is at liberty to use the law of war, and to destroy the property of the enemy." Lawyer as he is, Mr. Lincoln mistakes the law of war. That law refers only to the PUBLIC property of the enemy, not to the *private* property of individual enemies. Slaves are private property, and therefore not liable to confiscation or destruction. When the generals of the Federal armies pour Greek fire into private houses, in the dead of night, without due notice, it is only consistent that the generalissimo should show little respect for the legal distinction between public and private "property."

The Northerners but repeat against the South the policy of the English Government against the American colonies during the great American war. It is remark-

hoped, secured their own liberty of action. The slaves of loyal owners, however, were to remain slaves! We have thus a formal law of the Federal States for bartering away the liberty of the slave, to purchase a master's confession of loyalty to the Northern cabinet. Every man who takes what is called the oath of allegiance is deemed loyal. The process is neither tedious nor difficult. Consequently, a slave owner in Kentucky, or Tennessee, or Louisiana, desirous of retaining possession of his slaves in the proximity of the Union armies, has but to take an oath, and he decides the question of liberty or slavery. The hideous creation, which now passes for the goddess of liberty, rivets the manacles which she professes to break in sunder; and the presence of Union armies shuts out, even from redemption, the blacks, to liberate whom, we are told, the Union armies were assembled. If there were those hardships and sufferings in slave life which the sympathizers with the

able that even Mr. Lincoln's slave-arming proclamation is copied from one issued by Lord Dunmore:—

“By his Excellency the Right Hon. John, Earl of Dunmore, his Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor-General of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, and Vice-Admiral of the same:—

“A PROCLAMATION.

“To the end that peace and good order may the sooner be restored, I do require every person capable of bearing arms to resort to his Majesty's standard, or be looked upon as traitors to his Majesty's crown and government, and thereby become liable to the penalty which the law inflicts upon such offences, such as forfeiture of life, confiscation of land, &c. And I do hereby further declare all indentured servants, negroes, or others (appertaining to rebels) free, that are able and willing to bear arms, they joining his Majesty's troops as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this colony to a proper sense of their duty to his Majesty's crown and dignity. I do further order and require all his Majesty's liege subjects to retain their quit rents, or any other taxes due, or that may become due, till such time as peace may be again restored to this at present most unhappy country; or till they may be demanded of them for their former salutary purposes by officers properly authorized to receive the same.

“Given under my hand, on board the ship William, off Norfolk, this 7th day of November, in the sixth year of his Majesty's reign (A. D. 1775).

“DUNMORE.

“God save the King.”



North so pathetically describe, it is the Genius of the Northern Government which ratifies and renders them enduring. The language of the Northern States is, "swear allegiance to the Washington Cabinet, and you may possess and work as many slaves as you please."\* When such an ordinance has been publicly proclaimed, and acted upon, it is positively amazing that any writer or preacher should maintain that the war was undertaken chiefly, or at all, for the liberation of the slave.

Much stress has been laid upon the fact that a treaty for the suppression of the slave trade has been ratified between the British and United States' Cabinets since the commencement of the

\* The latest reference to emancipation is to be found in the President's strange letter to the Springfield convention. In that extraordinary composition Mr. Lincoln says he agrees with "the Springfield conventionists in condemning a contest of arms for the liberation of negroes, provided the conventionists are for the Union." The only meaning that can be put on this sentence is, that the President would surrender the question of manumission on condition of the restoration of the Union. Indeed, this follows from what he had said previously: since, if the Southerners re-entered the Union, they would be loyal men, and therefore legally entitled to hold their slaves.

The circular of Mr. Seward, dated September 22, 1862, puts the emancipation proclamation of Mr. Lincoln in its true light, i. e., as a military measure intended to cripple the South, not to benefit the negro:—

"I have already informed our representatives abroad of the approach of a change in the social organization of the rebel States. This change continues to make itself each day more and more apparent. In the opinion of the President, the moment has come to place the great fact more clearly before the people of the rebel States, and to make them understand that *if* these States *persist* in imposing upon the country the choice between the dissolution of this government, at once necessary and beneficial, and the abolition of slavery, it is the Union, and not slavery, that must be maintained and saved. With this object, the President is about to publish a proclamation in which he announces that slavery will no longer be recognised *in any of the States which shall be in rebellion on the 1st of January next*. While all the good and wise men, of all countries, will recognise this measure as a just and proper military act, intended to deliver the country from a terrible civil war, they will recognise at the same time the moderation and magnanimity with which the Government proceeds in a matter so solemn and important."

Had the President through feelings of philanthropy conceived the idea of emancipating the slaves, he certainly would not have reserved all action until dire necessity made it useful as a military resource.

civil war. It may be well to examine whether that treaty is worth the paper on which it is written. On this subject the following remarks, communicated by a friend, appear to be conclusive.

“The treaty just concluded between the British and American Governments, in reference to the suppression of the African slave trade, having attracted considerable attention in this country, it may not be out of place to inquire whether the Federal Government has exceeded its constitutional powers derived from the States, and whether it will be able to perform in good faith its part of the agreement. To those familiar with the framework of the United States’ Government it is known that the authority exercised by it is only derivative, and in no manner original. A treaty made some years ago between the Republic of Switzerland and a special envoy of the United States, which gave the citizens of both nations a right to hold real estate in either country, was declared null and void, in consequence of no such power having been delegated to the general government, the individual States retaining exclusive dominion, which is sovereignty over the soil. The Lyons-Seward treaty may not, therefore, be worth the paper upon which it is written.

“The Federal constitution thus alludes to the African slave trade, Article i. sect. 9:—‘The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed upon such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.’ By an amendment to the constitution, made shortly after its adoption, and prior to the year named, this *implied* authority was taken away from the central head, in Article 1, viz., ‘The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to *the States*, respectively, or to *the people*.’

“It will thus be seen that all Federal treaties in reference to the Slave trade are as unconstitutional as those in regard to real estate. The Southern States in their individual capacity, however, have had for many years legislative enactments forbidding the traffic, making it a penal offence; and hence, as long as they

remained in the Union, the existing treaties were not disturbed, their citizens having no interest in that description of commerce. Can as much be expected from the New Englanders, who are now deprived of a portion of their occupation?

“ No great reliance can be placed on the statements of Northern politicians respecting slavery; they are pro-slavery men, or anti-slavery men, as the occasion serves. It will hardly be credited that the present Federal representative in London, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, a few weeks prior to his departure from America, offered the following resolution in the House of Representatives, ‘That no amendment to this constitution, having for its object any interference within the States with the relation between their citizens and those (slaves) described in sect. 2 of the 1st article of the constitution or other persons, shall originate within any State that does not recognise that relation within its own limits, or shall be valid without the consent of every one of the States comprising the Union.’ Yet Mr. Adams affects to be an abolitionist, when waited upon by a deputation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.”



THE  
SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY  
AND THE  
AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS.

SIR,—Will you allow me to add a few observations to what has been so ably said in your columns with reference to the probable intentions of the Southern Confederacy in relation to the reopening of the African slave trade?

In the article to which reference has been made, from the *Saturday Review* (whose exposition of the Southern case I suppose we may regard as authoritative), the existence of any design on the part of the Southern leaders to renew this traffic is vehemently denied. The charge, we are told, “is not merely unfounded in fact, but bears the stamp of absurdity on its very face.” This is strong assertion; but if strong assertion could establish a fact, the fact in question would have been established before now, Mr. Yancey having some nine months ago, in

your columns, advanced the same statement with no less energy, but having received in the same columns signal refutation and ample exposure. It would be idle now to add anything to the superabundant evidence which you then produced as to the views entertained upon this subject by leading public men in the South. Every reader of your paper knows that an influential section of the most energetic politicians in the Southern States—many of them intimately associated with the present secession movement, and among the number Mr. Yancey himself—have for several years been engaged in an active agitation for the repeal of the Federal law which restrains the traffic, and have urged their demands, not at all exclusively, or even principally, upon State-right grounds, but chiefly upon the broad principles of free trade. I do not propose, therefore, to add anything (though it would not be difficult to do so) to the ample evidence as to the state of opinion in the South upon this question which was then laid before the public; but there are some arguments by which the writer in the *Saturday Review* seeks to give plausibility to his denial, on which, with your permission, I should be glad to make a few remarks.

The *Saturday Reviewer* declares that to assert that “the seceding States entertain the intention to reopen the African slave trade,” is to assert what “bears the stamp of absurdity on its very face.” Yet only a few lines lower down the same writer

tells us that "Cuba and Brazil have received their human cargoes." Now, if Cuba and Brazil find it profitable to receive their human cargoes, will the Reviewer inform us in what consists the "absurdity" of supposing that the States of the Confederacy, in the majority of which the conditions of industry are as nearly as possible identical with those in Cuba and Brazil, may find their interest in operations of the same kind? If it pays to import "savages" to raise sugar on the plantations of Cuba, why should it not pay to import them into Louisiana for precisely the same purpose? Nay, is it not certain that one cause which has hitherto given to the sugar producers of Cuba that advantage over their rivals in the sugar States of the South, which the latter have attempted to contravene by heavy protective duties, is the cheapness of their labour—a cheapness for which they are indebted to the African slave trade? The truth is, that the question stands for both on precisely the same footing; and the inducements which have been sufficient to keep open the slave trade in Cuba in defiance of treaties, and in violation of engagements paid for with British money, exist not less certainly in the Southern States, and would doubtless, were certain hindrances which now obstruct their action removed, issue in exactly the same result.

But, says the *Saturday Reviewer*, "the interests and feelings of the planters are opposed to the trade." But of what planters? Of the planters in the

Border States, or of those in the Gulf States? From the manner in which the Reviewer refers to the internal slave trade—that between the several States—we are left in doubt whether he is prepared to admit the existence of this traffic on a scale large enough to affect sensibly Southern interests, or whether, as he has denied other notorious facts connected with the condition of the South, it pleases him to deny this also. But, arguing the case on either supposition, if he denies the existence of the trade—if his position be, that substantially and in the main the owner of the “costly chattel” is also its consumer—then perhaps he, who is a political economist, will explain how in this case it can be the interest of any class in the South that slaves should be scarce and dear? Does he mean to say that the consumer of a commodity has an interest in keeping up its price? Or, taking the other hypothesis, if he admits that the inter-state slave trade exists, then he must admit that there is a diversity of interest as between the planters who breed and sell and those who buy and use. The planters who breed and sell the article will have an interest in maintaining the price, and therefore in prohibiting foreign importations, while those who buy and use will have an equally clear interest in its reduction, and therefore in the fullest free trade. The latter hypothesis, as every one knows, represents the fact. As regards, therefore, the planters of the Border States, the Reviewer’s denial is perfectly well founded; and the

fact that the slave-breeders were powerful enough to procure the provision in the Montgomery constitution against the African slave trade—a provision by which, it seems, the idea of an irreversible law is realized for the first time in history—shows the extent of the slave-breeding interest in the Southern States, and furnishes a most complete answer to the attempts of this writer to slur over the question of this detestable traffic. In speaking, therefore, of the interest of the Southern planters with reference to the question of the African slave trade, we must distinguish between the planters of the slave-breeding and those of the slave-consuming States. The former have a very substantial interest in keeping up the price, and therefore in excluding the foreign slave ; the latter have an interest no less clear in reducing it, and therefore in admitting him. The ultimate determination of the question, supposing the South to be successful in the present war, will depend on the relative power of these two parties ; and, keeping in view the quarter of the South in which this movement originated, and the men into whose hands its guidance has fallen, I, for my part, have very little doubt as to what that determination will be.

But, again, we are told that the interest of the “labouring white population” of the South is opposed to the reopening of the trade. The *Saturday Review*, it must be premised, has a theory that all that has been written by American and English tra-



vellers in the Southern States respecting the condition of the mass of the white population is mythical, and has informed its readers, on what authority does not appear, that this population, contrary to what is generally supposed, is an industrious, respected, and thriving set of men. Into this question I shall not now enter. I shall take the case as stated by the Reviewer, and, assuming the existence in the South of a "white labouring population" (distinct of course from peasant proprietors of certain districts), I shall ask the reader to consider how their interests would be affected by the reopening of the African trade. "At present," says the Reviewer, "slave and free labour do not come into competition, the former being too scarce and too dear to be employed in any occupations but those in which it can be employed to the best advantage—that is to say, in actually producing the staple crops of the country. If slave labour were to become very cheap and very plentiful, it would probably invade many of the occupations hitherto monopolized by white free men. These occupations would gradually sink into disrepute, as is always the case in a slave state with employments reputed servile ; the white man's field of labour would be diminished, and his earnings lessened by servile competition. There would be more slaveowners, but the condition of the non-slaveholding free men would be much worse than it is at present." The Reviewer's point is, that in the event of the slave population being augmented

by importations from Africa, no employment could be found for them without introducing slave labour into those occupations—principally connected with the business of transporting the produce of the country along the great rivers—which are now performed (according to the Reviewer's theory) by the white natives of the South ; but, according to the observation of American and English travellers, for the most part by German and Irish immigrants. But has the Reviewer never heard of the "territories"? Is he under the impression that Texas is already populated to its full capacity ; and can he not imagine that some work might be found for the new hands in those regions without encroaching on the domain of his industrious white friends? Let him listen on this subject to a Southern authority. "The South," says Mr. Lee, Professor of Agricultural Chemistry in the University of Georgia, "has now nearly seven hundred thousand square miles of unimproved land, and mines of vast extent and inestimable value, which require human labour alone to render them exceedingly productive. . . . Fully to meet the mineral requirements of the South will demand the labour of a million men in the next twenty years." In view of which facts the Professor regards it as "providential that there should be so much unemployed power, in human muscles, in Western Africa"—muscular power "which may be had at from ten to fifteen dollars as it exists in each person ;" and then, warming with his

subject, he exclaims, " I trace the growing demand for negro muscles, bones, and brains, to the good providence of God." It would seem, then, that the " white labouring population " need be in no apprehension from negro competition. All this, however, it must always be remembered, only holds good on the supposition that Texas and the " territories " remain with the South. Let the South be shut in behind the Mississippi, or even behind the Sabine, and the case will be completely changed : the Reviewer's argument will then, I admit, have some force ; but this is to suppose that the South has failed in the very purpose for which it is now in arms—that that result has happened which the *Saturday Review* and those who co-operate in the same creditable cause are doing their utmost to prevent. Confine the South within the Mississippi, and the interest of the planters, not to mention that of the " white labouring population," will effectually prevent any revival of the external trade in slaves : the present negro population will be sufficient, and will soon become more than sufficient, for the work. But give the South its way—permit it to extend its domain to the Mexican borders, and there will be no difficulty in finding abundance of profitable employment for all the slaves that can be imported from Africa for half a century to come.

The *Saturday Review*, not content with denying the charge of an intention to reopen the slave trade made against the Southern Confederacy, and with



demonstrating its absurdity in the conclusive manner we have seen, assumes the tone of a public censor, and characterizes the attempt to question its statements, "in the face of such evidence," as "simply dishonest." "Mr. J. S. Mill," it seems, "has not been ashamed to speak of the Confederates in a tone" which is highly distasteful to the *Saturday Review*. The force of a rebuke depends on the moral elevation of him by whom it is administered; and it may, therefore, be well that Mr. Mill should be made aware of the deference due to the moralist whose disapproval he has incurred. The following specimen of controversial candour will enable him to form his opinion upon this point:—"The South," says the Reviewer, "has had no part in this matter; and her present leaders have always been the steadfast opponents of the traffic. President Davis, as senator from Mississippi in the United States Congress, protested against it in the name of his State." President Davis did undoubtedly oppose the reopening of the African slave trade by the State of Mississippi (which, by the way, is not precisely the same thing as "protesting against the traffic in the name of his State"); he not only did so, but he explained with great precision the grounds of his opposition. The following are his words:—"The interest of Mississippi, not of the African, dictates my conclusion. Her arm is no doubt strengthened by a due proportion of the servile caste, but it might be paralysed by such an influx as would probably follow

if the gates of the African slave market were thrown open. . . . This conclusion in relation to Mississippi is based upon my view of her present condition, not upon any general theory. It is not supposed to be applicable to Texas, to New Mexico, or to any future acquisitions to be made south of the Rio Grande."

This is the sort of grounds on which the English public is assured that "the present leaders of the South have always been the steadfast opponents of the traffic;" and it is the writer who deals thus with evidence who presumes to talk of Mr. Mill "not being ashamed"—to do what?—to state truths which everyone acquainted with the recent history of the South knows to be notorious.

I am, &c.,

J. E. CAIRNES.

74, Lower Mount-street, Dublin, Nov. 3, 1862.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS.

SIR,—I ask the favour of room in your columns to reply to Mr. Cairnes' remarks, "with reference to the probable intentions of the Southern Confederacy in relation to the reopening of the African slave trade." It is customary to judge of people by their actions, and, while doubting the right of anyone to criticize the "probable intentions" of others, I may say that the charge thus made against the Southerners

is entirely unfounded. Mr. Yancey, in your impression of the 25th of January last, put this matter right, and his remarks have never received "in the same columns signal refutation and ample exposure;" nor is it true that "an influential section of the most energetic politicians in the Southern States—many of them intimately connected with the Secession movement, and among the number Mr. Yancey himself—have been for years engaged in an active agitation for the repeal of the Federal law which restrains the traffic, and have urged their demands, not at all exclusively, or even principally, upon State-right grounds, but chiefly on the broad principles of free trade." Here are Mr. Yancey's own words in contradiction of this assertion:—"I have never advocated the African slave trade. I do not know two public men in the South of any note who have done so. The people there are and have been almost unanimously opposed to it. The State laws, so long in force, prove this, and another striking fact. There have not been one hundred slaves imported into the South from any quarter for the last 53 years. I know of but one small cargo, and I never heard of another. The slave trade is carried on between Africa and Cuba alone; Southern men have nothing to do with it. Yankee captains, Yankee ships, Yankee ship-chandlers, and Yankee capital, are the notorious mainsprings of that trade."

It may be added that the same charges were made against Mr. Yancey in the South long before seces-

sion took place, but were denied by him upon every occasion ; this, in itself, shows that such views are in no manner popular in the Confederacy. There was an implied power given to perpetuate, or rather a restriction imposed upon, the Federal Congress under the Constitution, which went into operation in April, 1789, not to prohibit the African slave trade until 1808 ; but this clause was neutralized by one of the amendments thereto, adopted in September, 1789, which reads as follows :—"The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Mr. Cairnes, in speaking of the Border States, calls their people "slave breeders," and says that they "were powerful enough to procure the provision in the Montgomery constitution against the African slave trade." Now, it so happens that the convention which framed the Confederate constitution was formed solely by delegates from South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, at a time when it was not known whether the other States would withdraw from the old Union. The argument, then, "that the planters who breed and sell the article will have an interest in maintaining the price, and therefore in prohibiting foreign importations, while those who buy and use will have an equally clear interest in its reduction," is perfectly fallacious ; and "the latter hypothesis" does not, "as every one knows, represent the truth." It is

untrue that the citizens of the Border States are in any sense slave-breeders, and "this traffic" does not exist "on a scale large enough to affect Southern interests;" there is no occasion to "distinguish," even on economic grounds, as will presently be proved, between the planters of the "slave-breeding and those of the slave-consuming States." In further alluding to the slave trade restriction, Mr. Cairnes remarks, "The idea of an irreversible law is realized for the first time in history—shows the extent of the slave-breeding interest in the Southern States, and furnishes a most complete answer to the attempts of this writer [*Saturday Review*] to slur over the question of this detestable traffic." While such argument, unfounded in fact, refutes itself, it may be stated that a constitutional provision is paramount to legislative enactment.

I will now measure swords with Mr. Cairnes as a political economist. He says, "if it pays to import 'savages' to raise sugar on the plantations of Cuba, why should it not pay to import them into Louisiana for precisely the same purpose? Nay, is it not certain that one cause which has hitherto given to the sugar producers of Cuba that advantage over their rivals in the sugar States of the South, which the latter have attempted to contravene by heavy protective duties, is the cheapness of their labour—a cheapness for which they are indebted to the African slave trade?" The "question" does not stand "for both on precisely the same footing." The climate



of the South is somewhat precarious for the cultivation of sugar, and it has been on this account that the Louisianians claimed protection, as an offset to the grasping propensities of the North. But they are now, with drainage, improvements in machinery, and altered political conditions, in a position to do without a tariff; but small duties are levied on any article entering the Confederate States, except from the United States.

Cotton is a leading staple in Louisiana, and there is none produced in Cuba. Land, too, is worth relatively more in comparison with the value of negroes in Cuba than it is in the South, and hence an additional number of labourers beyond the natural increase is found to be profitable there. The very reverse is the case in the States. While the soil is better for the pupose in those localities where sugar is grown than in Cuba, the early frosts render that crop very hazardous; and although the value of slaves is somewhat greater, their skilled labour more than compensates for the difference, owing to the want of knowledge on the part of newly-imported Africans. Economic and selfish causes alone are enough to prevent persons from wishing their property "diluted" by too great a supply. Do the cotton speculators at Liverpool desire large receipts of that article from abroad just now? Every inch of soil in Cuba is under ownership, and from its limited extent full cultivation is highly remunerative. Not so in the Confederate States, with their

vast area of territory ; their inhabitants neither desire to force the growth of their staples beyond the wants of the world, by which they would be injuring the value of their present productions, nor have they the capital to engage in such extensive agricultural enterprises. It is as disadvantageous to farm too great a number of acres in a country of large geographical proportions, with a sparse population, and to extract from the soil more than is needed for man, as it would be to work too many mines of coal or iron in Great Britain, or to construct a superfluity of ships.

It is strange that Mr. Cairnes, a professor of political economy, should make such a blunder as to assert that in the majority of the States of the Confederacy "the conditions of industry are as nearly as possible identical" with those of Cuba. It is remarkable, too, that he, as an abolitionist, should advance arguments in favour of the reopening of the African slave trade, which the people of those States, who certainly know their own interests, reject as being entirely unsound. Nor do the Southerners want their country overrun with "savages" from Africa, and thereby have their whole system of labour deranged ; for it must be borne in mind that their negroes are a much superior class to the native African, having had the advantage of several generations of civilization and instruction.

I do not wish to trespass too much upon your space, and will conclude by stating that I was a

member of the Democratic convention which met at Charleston in April, 1860; that out of the six hundred and six delegates, all of whom were representative pro-slavery men, there was but one person in favour of the African slave trade—a Mr. Gaulden, from Georgia. His speech on the subject, repeated at Baltimore, occasioned much merriment in consequence of its absurdity, and was received with derisive laughter, which in this country, I observe, has been miscalled “applause.”

As a private gentleman, and a stranger in England, I had hoped to express my dissent from the views of Mr. Cairnes, whose name, from his professional position, is in a manner public property, without obtruding my own on your readers. Since, however, you make its use the condition of the insertion of this letter, I beg to subscribe myself, &c.,

GEORGE M'HENRY.

Nov. 8, 1862.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS.

SIR,—Mr. M'Henry, from South Carolina, has done me the honour to pass some strictures on my letter, which appeared in your paper of the 5th inst.; will you permit me to offer some remarks in reply?

Mr. M'Henry commences by quoting a passage from a letter from Mr. Yancey, which appeared in

your columns last winter, in which that gentleman denies that there is any desire on the part of Southern politicians for the reopening of the African slave trade—for what purpose I cannot imagine. The statement which he quotes was shown by you, on the evidence of the writings and speeches of eminent and able politicians in the South, to be contrary to fact. Let Mr. M'Henry show either that the extracts which you quoted were forged, or that they do not establish the conclusion which they were adduced to support, and it will then be time enough to bring forward fresh evidence. Of this, he may depend upon it, there is abundance, which will not fail to be forthcoming when the need for it arises.

Mr. M'Henry is not content with denying that the African slave trade is desired; he denies, further, that the internal slave trade exists—at least, “on a scale large enough to affect Southern interests.” Lord Macaulay compared this trade to “the trade in pigs between Dublin and Liverpool,” and to “the trade in coals between the Tyne and the Thames;” but it seems Lord Macaulay was the dupe of Southern myth-mongers. Where so much is mythical, it is difficult to know what evidence will be considered satisfactory; but I suppose, if there be anything real in the history of the South, it will be found in the census. Here at least it will, I suppose, be admitted we are on the solid ground. I will therefore ask Mr. M'Henry to attend to the

following argument by Mr. Senior, which is based upon census returns :—“ The total number of slaves in Virginia in 1840 was 448,886. During the ten years ending 1850, the slave population of the United States increased at the rate of 28 per cent. The number of slaves in Virginia, therefore, in 1850, ought to have been 574,574; it was only 473,026. Instead of increasing at the rate of 28 per cent., the slaves in Virginia increased at the rate of only  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Instead of adding 125,688 to their numbers, they added only 24,140. What became of the missing 101,548? It cannot be answered that they were not born, or that they died. The climate of Virginia is one of the best in the world; the labour in the plantations is light; the negroes are well taken care of. Every traveller admires the number of healthy children. If the natural increase of the slaves in the whole Union was 28 per cent., that in Virginia was probably 35 or 40 per cent.

“The question, what became of the missing 101,548, is answered when we look at the rate of increase in the States which are consumers instead of breeders; when we find that in Louisiana the increase was 44 per cent.; in Mississippi, 57 per cent.; and in Arkansas, 135 per cent. It is to these States, and to Texas, Alabama, and Florida, that Virginia has exported her human crop; and it is from them that she has received, at the low average price of 500 dollars per head, fifty millions of dollars for her



100,000 souls. It was to preserve this trade that Mexico was robbed of Texas, and afterwards of California and New Mexico ; that Cuba is to be snatched, and Jamaica to be annexed ; and that every new state, of which the climate is suited to the negro, is to be admitted into the Union as a slave state."

It appears, therefore, that, at the lowest computation, an average of 10,000 human beings must have been exported annually from Virginia during the decade under review ; while by making a fair allowance for what is incontrovertible, the exceptionally favourable conditions with regard to health enjoyed by the Virginian negro, this average is raised to no less than 15,000. This is the light which the census throws upon the question of the internal slave trade ; and the figures which I have stated merely represent the dealings of a single State. If Mr. M'Henry will only apply the same principle of calculation to the returns of the other breeding States, he will find that a result less considerable in amount, but perfectly analagous, will come out in every instance ; he will find, for example, that the increase of the slave population in North Carolina, in Maryland, and in Kentucky, and even in his own State of South Carolina, falls greatly below the average rate ; while, looking to the hygienic conditions of those States, it should have risen considerably above it.

Mr. M'Henry next objects to my statement that

“ the conditions of industry are as nearly as possible identical in Cuba and in the majority of the Southern States.” And what is his proof that they are different? He says that cotton is not grown in Cuba ; which is, I believe, true, but has as much bearing upon the question in hand—which is not as to the actual products, but as to the conditions of industry, the methods of production—as the statement that potatoes are grown in Ireland ; and, secondly, that Cuba is fully cultivated, while the Gulf States are not so—a statement which, if it were well founded, argues a rapidity of industrial progress in Cuba such as the world has never seen, since Mr. Merivale, who is not apt to speak at random, in the last edition of his work on the Colonies, informs us that in 1840 “ only seven-hundredths of Cuba had as yet been brought under cultivation.” But, in truth, I am not concerned to dispute Mr. M’Henry’s facts, inasmuch as they all tell directly in favour of the conclusion which I seek to establish, and directly against that which they are brought forward to sustain. All that is necessary for my position is, that in Cuba and the South alike, the system of industry is one in which large capitalists employ slaves in gangs on plantations in raising a few grand staples for the export market. No one who knows anything of the South, or of Cuba, will deny that the industry of the two countries is identical in these respects, and this is all that my argument requires.

So much for Mr. M'Henry's facts : I come now to his economic reasonings ; and, whatever may be the case as to other statements made respecting his country, these certainly suggest the idea that political economy in the Southern States is at all events a myth.

It must be remembered that the point which Mr. M'Henry undertakes to establish is, that the conditions of industry are so different in Cuba and the Gulf States, that, whereas the slave trade is profitable for the one, it is the reverse of profitable for the other. Now, what is his proof of this ? First, he tells us that "the climate of the South is somewhat precarious for the cultivation of sugar, and it has been on this account that the Louisianians claimed protection, as an offset to the grasping propensities of the North." The logic of this sentence quite eludes me ; but, waiving this, does Mr. M'Henry mean to say, that, because the climate of the South is less favourable for sugar than that of Cuba, therefore the Southern sugar producers can afford to pay a higher price for their labour ? If this be not Mr. M'Henry's point, will he explain what is the connexion between the unpropitious climate of the South and the independence of the Southern planters of imported labour ? for this is the point we are discussing. But, secondly, we are informed that land in the South is more abundant than in Cuba, from which the inference we are expected to draw is, that there is less need of slaves to till it. What will Mr. De Bow think of this reason-

ing? It is, however, no exceptional specimen; all Mr. M'Henry's arguments run in the same groove, and all have the same peculiarity, that the conclusion they establish is precisely the reverse of that which they are brought forward to support. Thus the next fact on which he relies to show that the slave trade would be prejudicial to the South is the scarcity of Southern capital. "Nor have they capital to engage in such extensive agricultural enterprises." As to the fact, Mr. M'Henry and I are agreed; but what then? If capital be scarce, does it follow that it is the interest of capitalists that labour should be dear?

The only plausible argument in Mr. M'Henry's letter (and this is only plausible for those who are entirely unacquainted with the facts) is one which he rather insinuates than expressly states. He suggests that the labour of the imported savage, though nominally cheaper than that of the home-bred slave, would not be really so. But a moment's consideration suffices to expose the fallacy. It is a sheer absurdity to talk of the "skilled labour" of the plantation slave. The reader may imagine the kind of skill which is to be obtained from a poor creature who is excluded by law from the merest elements of knowledge, and driven to his task by the lash of an overseer. The home-bred negro would be tamer than the newly-imported savage—that would be the one advantage which he would have over him—and would, no doubt, on this account

be more valuable, but the inferiority of the savage in this respect would be far more than compensated by the immense reduction in the price which would follow the opening of the African trade. This is no matter of speculation. It has been tried over and over again in all the West India islands, in Cuba, in the South itself, and always with the same result. Wherever a few staples are raised on large plantations by gangs of slaves for the export market, there the cheap labour of Africa has always been found to be economically profitable ; and, where it has not been artificially excluded, has always, in fact, been employed.

I am, &c.,

J. E. CAIRNES.

74, Lower Mount-street, Nov. 11, 1862.

Mr. M'Henry asks, "Do the cotton speculators at Liverpool desire large receipts of that article from abroad just now?" I should say not, and for the same reason which leads those who speculate in slaves in the South to desire, under like circumstances, to exclude foreign slaves ; but the cotton manufacturers, I imagine, do desire that the raw material of their industry should be plentiful and cheap ; and so, also, I apprehend, the producers of cotton on the Southern plantations desire to have at their command a plentiful and cheap labour market.



## TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS.

SIR,—In your impression of Thursday last a rejoinder was published by Mr. Cairnes to my letter in reply to his communication which appeared on the 5th instant. Having rebutted all his charges of an intention on the part of the South to reopen the African slave trade, I had hoped not to trespass upon your columns again, but courtesy requires an answer to the questions that have been directed to me. It is on this account that I ask your further indulgence.

It was supposed that the evidence of Mr. Yancey, a gentleman commissioned by the Confederate States with the highest diplomatic powers, for the purpose of visiting Europe, would have been sufficient authority for the correctness of my statements; but as that, as well as the testimony furnished by the proceedings of the Charleston convention, has not been accepted, I must call upon the accuser, Mr. Cairnes, to sustain his charge, and demand of him the names of the "eminent and able politicians" who agree with him that it is to the interest of the South that the African slave trade should be renewed.

Offence will not be taken at the expression "myth-monger;" it is to be regretted, however, that in discussing a serious subject, a question of fact, corrections of errors should have produced irritation; but "as figures never lie," when fully

stated, Mr. Cairnes' "solid ground" will prove to be a quicksand to him. He says :—

"Where so much is mythical, it is difficult to know what evidence will be considered satisfactory ; but I suppose, if there be anything real in the history of the South, it will be found in the census. Here at least it will, I suppose, be admitted we are on solid ground. I will therefore ask Mr. M'Henry to attend to the following argument by Mr. Senior, which is based upon census returns :—'The total number of slaves in Virginia in 1840 was 448,886. During the ten years ending 1850, the slave population of the United States increased at the rate of 28 per cent. The number of slaves in Virginia, therefore, in 1850, ought to have been 574,574 ; it was only 473,026. Instead of increasing at the rate of 28 per cent, the slaves in Virginia increased at the rate of only  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Instead of adding 125,688 to their numbers, they added only 24,140. What became of the missing 101,548 ? It cannot be answered that they were not born, or that they died. The climate in Virginia is one of the best in the world ; the labour in the plantations is light ; the negroes are well taken care of. Every traveller admires the number of healthy children. If the natural increase of the slaves in the whole union was 28 per cent., that in Virginia was probably 35 or 40 per cent.

"The question, what became of the missing 101,548, is answered when we look at the rate of in-

crease in the States which are consumers instead of breeders ; when we find that in Louisiana the increase was 44 per cent. ; in Mississippi, 57 per cent. ; and in Arkansas, 135 per cent. It is to these States, and to Texas, Alabama, and Florida, that Virginia has exported her human crop ; and it is from them that she has received, at the low average price of 500 dollars per head, fifty millions of dollars for her 100,000 souls. It was to preserve this trade that Mexico was robbed of Texas, and afterwards of California and New Mexico.’”

This is very easily explained. For many years large numbers of people from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, have been removing to the States of the north-west with their servants ; a similar course has been adopted by the Virginians, who have migrated to the south-west, and hence there has been a slow increase in the white as well as in the black population of their State. Many of their citizens, too, own plantations in the extreme South, under the charge of some member of the family, most generally the eldest son. Within the period named, 1840 to 1850, there was in the white population an augmentation of only 20 per cent., while in Louisiana it was 42 per cent., in Mississippi, 65 per cent., and in Arkansas 110 per cent. The same applies to “Texas, Alabama, and Florida.”

Mr. Cairnes is quite at sea in regard to figures ; and as he has appealed to the census, it is proper that he should be informed that in Virginia, between

1790 and 1800, the slave population increased only 21 per cent., and that was a period when slaves were smuggled through her borders. She had had since 1776 laws prohibiting the African slave trade, which were evaded by the Northerners to such an extent, that she was obliged also to pass enactments preventing the importation of negroes from other States unless accompanied by their owners, who must become residents. Similar laws are still in force in each of the Southern States. And this is the reason why many New Englanders moved to the South after their States passed acts of abolition, which have been misnamed emancipation. Legislation in America has not, therefore, lessened slavery to any great extent ; the increase in the several decades from 1800 to 1860 has been very regular, viz., 28, 34, 29, 30, 24, 28, and 24 per cent. In Virginia for the ten years ending in 1810 the gain was 13 per cent. ; 1820, 8 per cent. ; 1830, 10 per cent. ; 1850,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; 1860, 4 per cent. ; for 1840, there was a loss of 4 per cent. It will then be seen that the argument, "If the natural increase of the slaves in the whole Union was 28 per cent., that in Virginia was probably 35 to 40 per cent.," is just as fallacious as the assertion that "the climate of Virginia is one of the best in the world for raising negroes." Surely every intelligent person ought to be aware that in the cotton States, whose climate assimilates more nearly to that of Africa, the descendants of Ham thrive better, and "increase and multiply"

more rapidly than in a more temperate region. It is therefore a mistake to allege that there are "exceptionally favourable conditions with regard to health enjoyed by the Virginian negro." No such occupation is known as that of "slave breeding;" if such existed, there would be a great preponderance of females over males in Virginia, and *vice versâ* in the "consuming" States. It is "sheer absurdity" to talk about slave breeding and slave consuming States. As to the "robbery" of Texas from Mexico, Louis Philippe and Lord Palmerston joined in the "theft," by acknowledging the independence of that State in 1839; the "annexation" to the United States did not take place until the 1st of March, 1845. California is a free State, and there are but 24 slaves in New Mexico.

Mr. Cairnes is a very unfair reasoner; in the matter of the census he presented only the *black* side. I have answered him in black and *white*. I only alluded to the climate of Louisiana being "unpropitious" for the cultivation of sugar in comparison with that of Cuba. Yet he twists my remark to mean "the independence of the Southern planters of imported labour." He seems to forget that the slave owners of the South are the proprietors of the soil, and that the relative values of labour and land there are different from those of other countries. Mr. Seward informs us through his ministers and consuls that "it pays" to import Irishmen into the North, because they are "consumed" for war purposes; it



does not, however, follow that the same migration into the South would be equally profitable. Indeed, the history of the past eighteen months shows clearly that the Confederates can get on very well without "imported labour;" yet, to a careless observer, it would appear that the "conditions of industry" within that time were very similar in both sections of the late Union. But the struggle has been for "independence on one side, and empire on the other." In no two places on the face of the globe are the "conditions of industry" identical, and no sound thinker can say that they are. They vary even in these islands; flax can be cultivated profitably in Ireland, and hops in England, and the price of labour is not the same on either side of the Channel.

In reply to his concluding paragraph, it may be stated Mr. Cairnes must have relied upon the information (?) contained in the works of fiction of Mrs. Stowe and others, whose falsehoods have been corrected over and over again within the past year by every English gentleman of intelligence who has visited the Confederate States.

Mr. Cairnes is not content with making misstatements in reference to the slave trade, but, in an effort to cast ridicule on my remarks, he says that political economy in the Southern States is a "myth." Everyone is conversant with the fact that their leading statesmen have for years advocated the common sense doctrines of Adam Smith, now called a science,

and they are the first people of moment in modern times who have endeavoured to establish unrestricted free trade. As far as my poor opinions on that subject are concerned, although an amateur, I am perfectly willing to place them side by side with those of Professor Cairnes in all he has written upon American affairs, and will be content to abide by the decision of any three political economists in this country, Mr. John Stuart Mill excepted.

I am, &c.,

GEORGE M'HENRY.

Nov. 14, 1862.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS.

SIR,—Mr. M'Henry having "rebutted" my charge respecting the intention of the South to reopen the African slave trade, has found himself impelled by "courtesy" to reply to some questions contained in my last letter. I am bound to acknowledge his courtesy—the more so, as, after having read his letter, I am quite unable to find that he has accomplished the purpose for which he has made this sacrifice of his repose.

His notion of "rebutting" a charge appears to be, that it consists in the reiteration of a statement which has been refuted ; and when I remind him that his "rebutting" case is affected with this weakness, he exclaims, "I must call upon the accuser,

Mr. Cairnes, to sustain his charge, and demand of him the names of the able and eminent politicians," &c. I am really at a loss to know what Mr. M'Henry means by coming to me for names. When the refutation to which I referred was published in your columns, the names were not given in cipher ; and the *Daily News* is surely not so obscure a publication but that so distinguished a person as Mr. M'Henry, from South Carolina, might obtain access to a file of it in the city of London.

I borrowed in my last letter an argument of Mr. Senior, in which the existence and extent of the domestic slave trade is clearly shown from the statistics of the negro population. Mr. M'Henry complains that in this argument I have presented the black side of the returns only, and he professes to have answered me "in black and white." He has indeed quoted returns of blacks, and he has also quoted returns of whites, but of blacks and whites, as compared with one another, I find no traces in his letter ; and yet, if we advert to the case of the whites at all, it is in this comparison that the whole gist of the question lies. Mr. M'Henry is really no adept in the manipulation of statistics, and if he were well advised would leave his case in the able hands in which he found it—those of the *Saturday Review*. That journal knows both how to put a case plausibly and how to abandon it when it is hopeless. Since, however, Mr. M'Henry wishes to have the white as well as the black side of the

picture, I am content to comply with his desire ; and it will be for him to judge how far his case is improved by a fuller treatment.

In the argument which I quoted from Mr. Senior, not to prove the existence, but to illustrate the extent of the domestic slave trade, the facts relied upon were these :—That whereas in the decade ending 1850 the slave population throughout the whole Southern States increased its numbers at an average of 28 per cent., in Virginia (which, in spite of Mr. M'Henry's statement to the contrary, I still assert to be one of the healthiest of the Southern States), the rate of increase was only  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; while, on the other hand, in the warmer and less healthy States of the extreme South and West the increase was 44, 57, and 135 per cent. From these proportions, taken in connexion with the returns of the actual negro population in Virginia, an estimate was formed of the extent of the dealings of this State in its human chattels, which gave as result an annual export of from ten to fifteen thousand slaves. Mr. M'Henry disputes this conclusion, and contends that the discrepancies in question do not proceed from trading in slaves, but are the result of a general migration of the population westward, analogous to that which takes place in the Northern States. In support of this representation he appeals to the returns of the white population ; but, instead of quoting those returns, and comparing them with those of the black, he produces a medley of figures

which really prove nothing at all, but are intended to leave the reader under the impression that the returns in question sustain his case. The following Table, showing the rate at which the white and slave populations respectively have increased in the three principal Border States, and in three States in the extreme South and West, will enable the reader to see how far Mr. M'Henry's statement is borne out by the facts :—

PERCENTAGE INCREASE OF POPULATION IN THE DECADE ENDING 1850.

	Whites.	Slaves.
Virginia, . . . .	20·77	5·21
Maryland, . . . .	31·34	0·70
Kentucky, . . . .	28·99	15·75
Arkansas, . . . .	110·16	136·26
Mississippi, . . . .	65·13	58·74
Louisiana, . . . .	61·23	45·32

It will be seen from the above that, while in the former group of States the white population has progressed with, on the whole, tolerable regularity, the slave population has in two of them scarcely advanced at all, and in the third at a rate far short of that attained by the white population. On the other hand, in the latter group—a group composed of States in which it is perfectly notorious that plantation labour is far severer than in the former—the slave population has, in one instance, increased with much greater rapidity than the whites, and in another at almost the same rate. Even in Louisiana the increase of the slave population has not fallen greatly behind that of the whites, al-



though the circumstances of that State might well lead us to expect this result, being as it is the seat of a great commercial city with a large and rapidly growing white population ; and its prevailing industry—the cultivation of sugar—being, as is well known, enormously destructive of slave life.

But the census furnishes us with the means of instituting another comparison, which, as Mr. M'Henry appears to value himself on his skill in statistical reasoning, it may be well to give him an opportunity of studying. In pp. 42-44 of that invaluable record there is a series of tables, in which the inhabitants, free and slave, in the several States, are classed according to their ages. From these tables I have constructed the following statement, to which I invite his best intention :—

RATIO OF WHITE TO SLAVE POPULATION (MALE)—100 BEING TAKEN TO REPRESENT THE FORMER.

	Between the ages of 1 and 5 years.		Between the ages of 10 and 15 years.		Between the ages of 20 and 30 years.		Increase per cent. of Slave as com- pared with White popu- lation.	Decrease per cent. of Slave as com- pared with White popu- lation.
	White.	Slave.	White.	Slave.	White.	Slave.		
Virginia,	100	56	100	56	100	52	..	7·1
Maryland,	100	24	100	27	100	20	..	26·
Kentucky,	100	28	100	30	100	27	..	10·
Arkansas,	100	27	100	28	100	32	14·3	..
Mississippi,	100	103	100	98	100	110	12·2	..
Louisiana,	100	92	100	94	100	91	..	3·

I think it will not be denied that these proportions are significant. Take, for example, Virginia.

It appears that up to fifteen years of age the two populations maintain exactly their relative position ; but after twenty—after the period of physical maturity has been reached—after the full-grown slave has been exported—the slave population of a sudden drops. The case of Maryland is still more striking. The slave population actually gains upon the white between the ages of five and fifteen, while after twenty it undergoes an immense reduction. In Kentucky the result is perfectly analogous. Compare this with the progress of the population in the three slave-consuming States in the South-West. We find here a state of things exactly the reverse. In Arkansas and Mississippi the relative position of the two races up to the age of fifteen remains almost unchanged ; but no sooner do we reach the age of twenty than in those States of severe plantation labour the slave population exhibits, in relation to the whites, a large increase. Louisiana, indeed, in this, as in the former example, seems at first glance to weaken the argument, but in fact it strengthens it. The adult slave population, instead of gaining on the whites, slightly loses ground. But what does this prove ? Only that to which every traveller in Louisiana testifies—the frightful destruction of slave life which cane crushing on the sugar plantations entails. Yet, notwithstanding the inroads made on the slave population by this cause, and notwithstanding the support given to the whites by the rapid growth of

New Orleans, the adult slave population in this State almost—such is the activity of the slave dealer—maintains its relative position. Now, these are facts which no mere migration of population will account for. If a planter, with his family and its following of slaves, removed from Virginia to Arkansas, the young and old of both races would go together, and the proportion between the two populations would remain unchanged. But where slave dealing prevails in connexion with slave breeding, this cannot happen. The slave is sold off as he arrives at his maturity, and thus at this point the proportion between the slave and free population is disturbed. The former falls behind ; the latter gains. In a word, that state of things is realized which, we find from the census returns, actually exists in the slave-breeding States of the South.

In truth, however, there is something ludicrous in the attempt to prove the existence of a slave trade in the South by inferences from a census. We might as well attempt to meet the historic doubts of Archbishop Whately, and prove the existence of Napoleon Bonaparte by an appeal to the bills of mortality. The thing is notorious. Slave breeding and Virginia—"the two ideas," says Mr. Weston, "are as indissolubly associated as cotton spinning with Manchester, or as cutlery with Sheffield." "Six thousand slaves," says Professor Dew—a Virginian authority—"are yearly exported from Virginia to other States. A full equivalent being left in the

place of the slave, this emigration becomes an advantage to the State, and does not check the black population as much as, at first view, we might imagine ; because it furnishes every inducement to the master to attend to the negroes, to encourage breeding, and to cause the greatest number possible to be raised. Virginia is, in fact, a negro-raising State for other States." "Our slaves," says Mr. Gholson in the legislature of Virginia, "constitute the largest portion of our wealth, and by their value regulate the price of nearly all the property we possess. Their value, on the other hand, is regulated by the demand for it in the Western markets ; and any measures which close those markets to us, would essentially impair our wealth and prosperity." It is now thirty years since Professor Dew estimated the annual export of Virginia at 6,000 slaves, but slave breeding and slave trading have since that time undergone a remarkable development. Mr. M'Henry, being a South Carolina man, may perhaps have heard of a special committee of the House of Representatives in that State, appointed in 1857 to report on the extent of the domestic slave trade, with a view, by the way—and this will probably induce him to modify his opinion on another point—to consider the expediency of repealing the Federal law against the external traffic. In proceeding with its task this committee adopted a mode of reasoning identical in principle with that of Mr. Senior ; and not only so, but, what is still more curious, arrived

at nearly the same conclusion. Mr. Senior's estimate of the slaves exported from Virginia, between 1840 and 1850, was 101,548; the Carolinian authority sets it down at 111,259; it thus seems that the estimate of the Englishman was sensibly within the truth.

If Mr. M'Henry should not have heard of this South Carolina Committee, he at all events has heard of the Montgomery Constitution. He is familiar with Art. 1, sect. 9, by which the foreign slave trade is prohibited, and has doubtless brought that important provision under the attention of his English friends. That provision, however, is followed by another, the meaning of which, perhaps, he will explain. "Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of, or territory belonging to, this Confederacy." What introduction of slaves from State to State does he suppose the Convention had in view when it passed this enactment? and how does it happen to be coupled with that other enactment prohibiting the African slave trade? The common view of the case is that—the Montgomery convention having been held while the action of the Border States was yet undecided—the former member of the clause was intended as a bribe to the wavering section, and the latter as a menace. The former said to the breeding States, "Join our Confederacy, and we will protect you from foreign competition;" the latter, "Refuse to join us, and we will exclude



your slaves, and have recourse to Africa." Now, if the domestic slave trade be a myth, what is the meaning of this clause?

I think there is no need to recur to Mr. M'Henry's economic reasonings on the industrial condition of the South.

I am, &c.,

J. E. CAIRNES.

74, Lower Mount-street, Dublin, Nov. 20, 1862.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS.

SIR,—Mr. M'Henry appears to have acquiesced in my suggestion that he should leave his case in the able hands in which he found it; and, in its last number, the *Saturday Review* has come to the rescue of the distressed Confederate. In recurring to the subject now, I have no intention, except within very narrow limits, to reopen the discussion. There is no need of this. My object is simply to note the fact, that with a single exception, to which I shall presently advert, my arguments throughout two columns of small print, devoted to a reply to them, have been left absolutely unanswered, and that the case stands precisely where I left it.

In the article in the *Saturday Review* which introduced this controversy, it was laid down that the interest of the Southern planters to keep up the value of slave property by excluding African slaves

is so plain, that the charge against the seceding States of an intention to reopen the African slave trade was one "which bore the stamp of absurdity on its very face." To this I replied by pointing out that the alleged absurdity was not felt by the planters of Cuba; and by asking why, if it pays to import negroes to raise sugar on the plantations of Cuba, it should not pay to import them into Louisiana for precisely the same purpose? To this question the *Saturday Reviewer* has adventured no reply. Mr. M'Henry, indeed, did essay an answer; he asserted that the reason it would not pay to increase the stock of negroes in the Southern States, while it did pay to increase it in Cuba, was, that in Cuba the fertile land was all under cultivation, while on the continent there were vast regions of the richest soil which are still unappropriated; in other words, according to Mr. M'Henry, it would not pay to increase the stock of slaves in the South because there was so much profitable work on which slaves might be employed. Does the *Saturday Reviewer* wish to be understood as endorsing Mr. M'Henry's answer?

Again, the Reviewer maintained that the reopening of the African slave trade was as adverse to the interests of the poor whites in the South as to that of the planters, supporting this statement by the argument that, "if slave labour were to become very cheap and very plentiful, it would probably invade many of the occupations hitherto monopolized by

white free men." To this I replied by reminding the Reviewer that the United States possessed Texas and the Territories—districts almost as large as the whole area of the present Slave States, and at present nearly quite unsettled ; and by suggesting that work might be found for the new hands in those regions without encroaching on the industrial monopoly of the poor whites. In his reply he has made no reference to this point. I presume, therefore, he is not prepared to deny the existence of Texas and the Territories, and that, consequently, this portion of his argument is given up.

So far as to the foreign slave trade ; and now what is the Reviewer's position with reference to the other portion of the Southern case—the domestic slave trade ? It is to be feared that the feelings of Mr. M'Henry, as he peruses his advocate's defence, will sustain a shock not unlike that felt by Balak as he listened to the parable of the son of Beor. The seer whom Mr. M'Henry called to bless the South has cursed it altogether.

What are the *Saturday Reviewer's* admissions ? He admits that " slaves are sold *en masse* by men who failed in planting or grow weary of it ; and of those so sold the majority, perhaps, are sent South." He admits that " it is true that there are slave breeders in Virginia." He admits " that the practice of breeding slaves for sale—or at least of regularly selling off the increase among them—does exist in Virginia, and perhaps in North Carolina." He admits, lastly,

“ that the natural increase of the population—about ten thousand per annum—passes into the more Southern States.” The Reviewer admits all this ; but he seeks to qualify his admissions by certain palliations, as he conceives them. He alleges that planters and planters’ sons emigrate with their slaves—a statement which is true within narrow limits, but within narrow limits only, as is proved by the comparative returns of the white and black population given in my last letter, with which the Reviewer, though he alludes to them, does not attempt to deal ; and as is shown, also, by his own remark, that “ Southern landowners are almost as unwilling as Englishmen to quit their ancestral estates.” He observes, secondly, that “ a Southern gentleman will sell a discontented slave at his own request ; he will sell a refractory slave in order to get rid of him, or a girl that she may be married to her lover who belongs to a different owner”—accidents of the business which I suppose he would have us accept as a fair set off against the wholesale rending of family ties, and the frequent purchases for the ends of lust, which are its ordinary concomitants. Lastly, he assures us, and this he seems to regard as his strong point, that slave trading in the South is in disrepute. To which I can only reply that I have never said the trade was reputable.

But the Reviewer does attempt to deal with one of my arguments. I ventured to assert that, in those States in which slaves were kept, not for sale,

but for use, and which on this account are properly called "the slave-consuming States," it could not be the interest of those who used them that slaves should be dear, resting the statement on the not very recondite principle that it is the interest of the consumer to buy his goods in the cheapest market. Here is the Reviewer's reply, which I present for the edification of economists :—

"The objection was, that it must be the interest of the planter, as a consumer of slaves, that slave labour should be cheap ; and this might have some force if slaves were as cotton is to the manufacturer—a material to be speedily used up and done with ; though, if a manufacturer held a stock of cotton worth more than all the rest of his property, we doubt whether he would be willing to see the price of cotton suddenly reduced one half. But slaves are to the planter, not material, but machinery—machinery which he expects to work for 40 or 50 years from the time (14 years old) at which it is first set to work. Now, if a manufacturer owns £100,000 worth of machinery, and all his other wealth is not worth above £25,000, he will certainly not desire a change which would make his machinery worth only £50,000, even if he could be sure that the value of his other property would be increased thereby. Nor can the planter desire to see his slave property depreciated 50 per cent., by the revival of the slave trade, because, though he might be able to produce cotton more cheaply, yet as the amount of



available cotton land is almost unlimited, the consumer would get the whole benefit of that cheapness, and the planter would only realize the same rate of profit as before on a capital diminished by one half."

It is commonly supposed that protectionism has in England been long dead and buried, but the above passage shows that this is a mistake. Slave industry, it seems, forms an exception to the general principle, and, whatever may be the case with other countries, wealth in the Southern States may be fostered by protective laws. But let us examine the familiar fallacies. The Reviewer's position is, that although the instruments of production would be cheapened, and although (or rather, it would seem, because) there is an unlimited field of admirable fertility for their employment, nevertheless it is the interest of the South to exclude the cheapened instruments, and to abstain from cultivating the fertile field—for what reason does the reader suppose?—lest its interests should suffer by a reduction in the price of instruments and products. Why, supposing the price of cotton and slaves to fall, does it follow that the planter must lose? If the price falls, it is because the commodity is multiplied; and, before the Reviewer is justified in assuming that the change would be a loss, he must show that the proportional fall in price would exceed the proportional increase in quantity; he must show, further, that with the increased means of production no other article could

be raised than cotton ; he must show, lastly, what he assumes in the teeth of well-established principles, that the European consumer would get the full benefit of the cheapened cost. A considerable increase in the exports of the South to Europe would involve a readjustment of what Mr. Mill calls the equation of international exchange between the two continents, and it is by no means probable—much less certain—that the effect of this upon the price of cotton would be that which the Reviewer assumes. In short, the Reviewer's position involves the monstrous paradox that the planting interest in the Southern States would be injured by a change which would place at its disposal a practically unlimited supply at once of cheap labour and of cheap land ; and that planters, who, as he admits, are in the habit of buying slaves in the Northern markets at the price of 1,000 dollars for the able-bodied slave, would, in a pecuniary sense, be losers by being permitted to import them at a quarter of the sum. It seems idle to pursue the argument further, but I cannot take leave of it without adverting to a distinction which the Reviewer lays down. He says that my argument might be good, if slaves corresponded to material, “but slaves,” he adds, “are to the planter not material, but machinery,” and on this account my argument fails. It seems, then, that the interest of producers as regards materials and machinery is not the same ; while it is their gain that material should be cheap, it is their gain

that machinery should be dear. This is a distinction which, I apprehend, will be new to political economists. Perhaps it would be well, before the Reviewer commits himself definitively to the doctrine, that he should test it by consulting the first manufacturer he happens to meet.

I am, &c.,

J. E. CAIRNES.

Queen's College, Galway, Dec. 15, 1862.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS.

SIR,—After having defeated all Mr. Cairnes' arguments advanced in order to prove that the people of the Confederate States would not only find it to their interest, but that it was their "probable intention" to reopen the African slave trade, and disproved his assertions in reference to the internal traffic in negroes, I did not think it necessary to reply to his letter published on the 24th ultimo, considering that, like many persons, he was desirous of having the last word. But I observe that he is prejudiced and therefore unable to understand the matters he has attempted to elucidate, even after they have been fully explained. I now again ask the favour of room in your columns, in consequence of the opening remarks in his communication inserted in your impression of the 18th instant, couched in the fol-

lowing words, in which discourtesy is mistaken for smartness :—

“ Mr. M’Henry appears to have acquiesced in my suggestion that he should leave his case in the able hands in which he found it ; and in its last number the *Saturday Review* has come to the rescue of the distressed Confederate.”

As Mr. Cairnes has not appreciated my motive for silence, I will, in relieving him of his misapprehension, expose the misstatements and illogical reasonings of his two last productions, leaving the eminent journal he attacks to take care of itself, doubting not that its great influence will in no manner be impaired by the angry broadside of “so distinguished a person” as the Galway Professor, or, to use his own language, the “distressed Irishman.”

Mr. Cairnes occupies a large space with cavilling at an expression correctly used by me, namely, the word “rebutted.” I regret that in advocating the cause of truth I should be obliged to respond to arguments so encumbered with matters irrelevant to the subject under discussion, and am surprised that he, who with so much self-complacency, ventures to criticise my style, should be so careless and unpolished in his own. He affects to be astonished that he should be called upon to sustain his charges against the South, when, after citing all that had been published in the *Daily News*, he offered in his second letter to produce “abundance of fresh evi-

dence." Why is this "evidence" not forthcoming? It can only be because there is none to bring forward. He casts the blame for his mistakes regarding the returns of the census on Mr. Senior; and while he again deals extensively in extracts from that "invaluable record," which was introduced by him into the correspondence, but unfortunately for him only strengthens the statements made by me, he ridicules the very authority which he thus presents, by saying that "there is something ludicrous in the attempt to prove the existence of the slave trade by inferences from the census."

I do not pretend to be an "adept in the manipulation of statistics," and am content to leave that occupation in Mr. Cairnes' hands. I merely present figures as they are in a clear manner, with as few words as possible, without any effort to throw dust in the eyes of the reader. In my last I passed over several blunders in arithmetic, but cannot permit the following passage to remain unnoticed:—"If a planter with his family and its following of slaves removed from Virginia to Arkansas, the young and old of both races would go together, and the proportion between the two populations would remain unchanged." Exactly the reverse would be the case, in consequence of the black outnumbering the white members of the migrated family; yet he repeats this "absurdity," although he had been informed that many of the Virginians owned plantations "in the extreme South, under the charge of some mem-



ber of the family, most generally the eldest son. Virginia is certainly one of the healthiest of the Southern States for white persons, but the negroes who reside there are subject to rheumatism and other diseases quite unknown in climates more congenial to their physical organization.

It is untrue that there is a "frightful destruction of slave life in the extreme South." Surely the "medley of figures" presented disprove this. Mr. Cairnes labours under the impression that sugar is the only production of Louisiana, and gives that as a reason for a mortality which exists only in his own imagination; the cotton crop is more important in its character, sugar being cultivated only in particular situations. Nor is the cultivation of the latter staple more arduous to the hands employed than the former, and neither labour is so hard as digging potatoes, cutting peat, or working in the collieries of England or Ireland. Notwithstanding that the sugar, cotton, and tobacco crops of the South are at present as unremunerative to the planters as the want of the raw material is embarrassing to the manufacturers of this country, the slaves are as well fed and taken care of as ever—there is no cry of starvation among them.

I have fairly broken down all Mr. Cairnes' charges in reference to the "intention" of the Southerners to reopen the African slave trade; in regard to his assertions concerning an internal slave traffic; in relation to his views on political economy

in connexion with American affairs ; and I now propose to show how unsound are the positions he takes in his last letters. He informs us that the white population in Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, for the ten years ending in 1850, increased respectively in round numbers 21, 31, 29, 110, 65, and 61 per cent., which he calls "tolerable regularity," and he purposely leaves out Missouri, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Delaware, which added 83, 66, 27, 27, 18, 7, 14, and 19 per cent. to their numbers. Texas, which had been a sovereign state like each one of the United States, from the time of the formation of the Confederacy of the "United Mexican States," in 1824, seceded therefrom in 1836, but did not join the Federal-American Union until 1845, and of course does not appear in the United States census for 1840 ; her white population, however, at that period was estimated at about 130,000 ; this shows an increase in 1850 of 20 per cent. All these last named States, except Delaware and Missouri, are classed by Mr. Cairnes as "slave-consuming States ;" and as South Carolina, the "head and front of all offending," records an advance of 7 per cent. in the whites and 17 per cent. in the blacks, against 21 and 5 per cent. in Virginia, it argues that a greater number of the white inhabitants of the "Palmetto State" moved to other commonwealths than did those of the "Old Dominion," and further shows

that the former State, although "slave-consuming," had no importations of negroes, 17 per cent. being 11 per cent. under the average increase in the entire South. Between the years 1847 and 1850, the migration from South Carolina and other "slave-consuming States" to California, was very large: until 1860, the Southerners controlled the political affairs of that State, yet they never proposed or entertained the idea of amending its constitution, as they had a right to do if they had deemed fit, in order to admit slavery within its limits; and with the territories of Colorado, Dakotah, Nebraska, Nevada, Utah, Washington, Oregon, and New Mexico open to them, only 63 slaves have been taken there. It is nonsense to be talking about "slave-breeding," and "slave-consuming," States. As well might the same epithets be applied to Ireland and England, the one labour "breeding" and the other labour "consuming." How is it that in Maryland "the slave population absolutely gains upon the white between the ages of five and fifteen?" Do the blacks come into the world as children partially grown, instead of infants? He continues:—"In Arkansas and Mississippi the relative proportions of the two races up to the age of 15 years remain almost unchanged, but no sooner do we reach the age of 20, than in those States of severe plantation labour the slave population exhibits, in relation to the whites, a large increase. [This does not look like "consuming."] Louisiana, indeed, in this as in the former example, seems at

the first glance to weaken the argument, but in fact it strengthens it; the adult slave population, instead of gaining on the white, slightly loses ground." Mr. Cairnes will be enlightened when I tell him that Arkansas and Mississippi are not sugar-growing States, and that they have laws prohibiting the ingress of slaves, except when accompanied by their masters; and that Louisiana, while she has the same restrictions, invites a larger white population in consequence of her commerce. The census, being taken on the 1st of June, includes all the foreigners who are domiciled there for business purposes during the season. A month later would make a considerable diminution in the figures. Thus his analysis of the white and black population is perfectly worthless. The census of England for 1861 gives a large increase in some counties over others, and experience teaches us that it is not the invariable habit even for white persons to remain in the particular localities where they were born.

Mr. Cairnes should be aware that, according to parliamentary usage, any individual of an assembly has a right to move the appointment of a committee; and when he speaks of one having been named in the South Carolina House of Representatives in 1857, to report "on the extent of the domestic slave trade," and "to consider the expediency of repealing the Federal laws against the external traffic," he withholds the fact that its report was dismissed, which is "fresh evidence" that there were but few

persons holding his opinions in that body, and that the people of that State had no notion of rescinding their own laws, prohibiting the traffic, which bear date anterior to those of the Federal government. And as to the Montgomery Convention, composed solely of delegates from the slave "consuming" States, if they had desired to import labour from Africa on account of its alleged cheapness, they would neither have adopted a constitution prohibiting such traffic, nor permitted the slave "breeding" States to "join our Confederacy;" the very circumstances of the case and the many proofs on record—a professor of jurisprudence should be guided by documentary and not hearsay evidence, manufactured by the Yankees—establish clearly that it is an unblushing falsehood to say that the cotton States said to the Border States, "Refuse to join us, and we will exclude your slaves, and have recourse to Africa."

It is strange that Mr. Cairnes still argues that it will be to the interest of the South to reopen the African slave trade. He may be assured that with all his perseverance, and politico-economic views, he could not get the Confederates to agree with him. I had thought that every abolitionist advocated that free labour was cheaper than slave labour. It seems, however, that I have been in error; but I may be excused for entertaining a wrong impression.

Although I had made it clear that the "conditions of industry" were not the same in Cuba and



Louisiana (Mr. Cairnes, in his first letter, said a majority of the Southern States, in the second the Gulf States), and offered to leave the question to the decision of any three political economists, Mr. John Stuart Mill excepted, I observe that he again asks the question, "Why, if it pays to import negroes to raise sugar on the plantations of Cuba, it should not pay to import them into Louisiana for precisely the same purposes?" and asserts that I stated "that in Cuba the fertile land was all under cultivation." I said no such thing. If it were in complete tillage, a sufficiency of labour would be indicated, and no room would be left for fresh importations. I protest against being misquoted. Here are my remarks on this subject :—"Cotton is a leading staple in Louisiana, and there is none produced in Cuba. Land, too, is worth relatively more in comparison with the value of negroes in Cuba than it is in the South, and hence an additional number of labourers beyond the natural increase is found to be profitable there. The very reverse is the case in the States. While the soil is better for the purpose in those localities where sugar is grown than in Cuba, the early frosts render that crop very hazardous ; and although the value of slaves is somewhat greater, their skilled labour more than compensates for the difference, owing to the want of knowledge on the part of the newly imported Africans. . . . Every inch of soil in Cuba is under ownership, and from its limited extent full cultivation is highly remune-

rative. Not so in the Confederate States, with their vast area of territory ; their inhabitants neither desire to force the growth of their staples beyond the wants of the world, by which they would be injuring the value of their present productions ; nor have they the capital to engage in such extensive agricultural enterprises. It is as disadvantageous to farm too great a number of acres in a country of large geographical proportions, with a sparse population and to extract from the soil more than is needed for man, as it would be to work too many mines of coal or iron in Great Britain, or to construct too many ships."

I may add that the whole system of slavery in Cuba is different from that in the Southern States ; and that up to the period of American independence, England exhibited more enterprise than the Spanish in conducting the African slave trade. So much so, that Virginia, South Carolina, and other of her colonies, opposed the traffic, they then having a plethora of that kind of labour. The British, too, imported as many women as men, while the Spanish, from the earliest period, have traded in males, and nearly all the Africans smuggled into Cuba up to the present day have been of that sex ; it, therefore, under such circumstances, "pays" to continue their importation. Nor are the negroes in Cuba, for this very reason, as well taken care of as they are in the South, it being to the interest of the masters to get as much work out of them as

possible. As many of these proprietors are absentees in New England and Spain, the slaves are left in charge of overseers, who care little about their personal comfort. Not so in the South, where the institution of slavery is conducted in a patriarchal manner. "It pays" to import coolies into Cuba, also into the British West Indies, yet it would not be profitable to carry on that commerce with the Confederate States, whose labour, from the natural causes above mentioned, keeps pace with the demand, and must continue to do so always, by reason of the start given to it prior to American independence, and aided by the Northerners, when their emancipation laws were passed, sending their negroes South, the census positively proving that neither the abolition of slavery in one section, nor the extension of it in another, has diminished nor increased the legitimate ratio of negro population. It has also demonstrated that the regular augmentation of negro labourers is quite equal to supplying any possible demand that may arise for the productions of Southern soil. The crops of the Confederate States, cotton, rice, naval stores, &c., are among the necessities of life, the call for them is, therefore, very regular; those of Cuba constitute, in a great measure, what are classed as luxuries, and, with the increasing extravagance among the masses, the demand for them is constantly becoming greater, while its peculiar climate leaves it without a competitor.

Mr. Cairnes is quite astray in his application of political science to the productions of the Confederate States. He says, "A considerable increase in the exports of the South to Europe would involve a readjustment of what Mr. Mill calls the equation of international exchange between the two continents." Does he not know that a crop of 3,000,000 bales of cotton may net more money to the planters than 4,000,000 bales, the enhanced price and reduced expenses more than making up the difference?

The *Saturday Review*, which Mr. Cairnes quotes, states that "slaves are to the planter not material, but machinery." This is true; but what is the use of having more machinery than is required to supply clothing for the actual wants of mankind? Have not the Lancashire people erected too many mills—an additional spinning force of thirty per cent. in the last four years? Surely the consumption of British fabrics has not made such strides within that time; and would not many of these millowners have been ruined had the American cotton crop of 1861 come forward in regular course? Affirmative answers to these questions will be given by every one conversant with such matters. There is no doubt but the large crops of 1858, 1859, and 1860 received the benefit of the fictitious consumption by having to feed a superfluous number of looms. The leading article of commerce, however, would be quoted this day at a lower price than for many years had not the war intervened; as it is, the limited

crop of 1862 and great waste, will no doubt cause what may come forward to net treble the ordinary result. A cotton-spinner is disadvantaged by too much machinery being erected in the kingdom ; so is a miner by the opening of too many new mineral veins ; the same rule applies to the planters, who have already a sufficiency of "machinery" for their purposes. Mr. Cairnes seems to think that the first cost is every thing ; he takes no account of the annual expense, interest, or the wear and tear. Hear his theory in reference to this :—"It seems then that the interest of producers, as regards materials and machinery, is not the same ; while it is their gain that materials should be cheap, it is their gain that machinery should be dear." It is not the cost of the machinery, it is the quantity, the competition, that lowers prices. I advise Mr. Cairnes to consult "the first manufacturer he happens to meet." Such truths as I have stated "may be new to political economists," but not at all novel to intelligent planters, merchants, and manufacturers, who are presumed to understand their own business.

He alludes to a parable contained in the 24th chapter of the Book of Numbers, which the reader will have observed applies altogether to himself, and not to me. As he has chosen to quote Scripture for my benefit, I hope he will allow me to reciprocate by referring him to the 20th chapter of Exodus, 16th verse. He has been very reckless in slandering the people of the Confederate States, and, by his man-



ner of writing, appears greatly irritated at having the incorrectness of his statements exposed.

I have to thank you, the editor of the leading journal in Europe in opposition to the cause of my country and the sentiments entertained by my compatriots, for the large amount of space that has been accorded me ; and am, &c.

GEORGE M'HENRY.

December 19, 1862.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS.

SIR,—I find I was not mistaken in my conjecture that the candour of the Southern advocate in the *Saturday Review* would discompose the serenity of his client. To concede that “there are slave-breeders in Virginia ;” that “the practice of breeding slaves for sale—or, at least, of regularly selling off the increase among them—does exist in Virginia, and perhaps in North Carolina ;” that “the natural increase of the population—about 10,000 per annum—passes into the more Southern States ;”—this line of defence does not, it seems, satisfy the ideas of Mr. M'Henry as to what is required in an advocate of the South. He has accordingly once again taken the case out of the hands of his counsel, and now endeavours to divert attention from the damaging character of these admissions by turning upon me a torrent of offensive verbiage, which

would really with more justice have been directed against his own too candid ally.

The tone of Mr. M'Henry's last communication, in which the charge of "reckless slander" alternates with that of "unblushing falsehood," might well, I think, excuse me from pursuing this controversy further ; but, when I entered the lists with a member of the Southern chivalry, I had not the simplicity to suppose that I should be indulged with those amenities of debate which are usual in civilized countries , and, in now withdrawing from the discussion, I do so, not because Mr. M'Henry has begun to be rude, but because he has ceased to be intelligible. What is to be done with a reasoner who, when I refer him, in proof of the existence of an internal slave trade in the South, to the fact, that a special committee of the South Carolina legislature was appointed to report on the trade—and that this committee sent in a report, in which a formal estimate was given of its extent, coupled with a recommendation that the foreign slave trade should be reopened—meets this statement by the observation that I "withhold the fact that its report was dismissed?" Or who, to give another instance, quotes the words in which I state the *reductio ad absurdum* of my opponent's principles, as my "theory?" When matters reach this pass, argument of necessity ceases.

Before taking leave of the controversy, there is one point to which I will refer. In a former letter

I declined to engage in a discussion as to the existence of an agitation in the South for reopening the African slave trade, on the ground that the fact had already been established in your leading columns by the conclusive evidence of the speeches and writings of the prominent politicians who had taken part in it ; and I added—" Let Mr. M'Henry show, either that the extracts which you quoted were forged, or that they do not establish the conclusion which they were adduced to support, and it will then be time enough to bring forward fresh evidence. Of this, he may depend upon it, there is abundance, which will not fail to be forthcoming when the need for it arises." Mr. M'Henry now asks, " Why is this evidence not forthcoming ?" I beg to tell him it is because the need for it has not arisen. When he satisfies either of the above conditions I shall be prepared to bring forward the evidence of which I spoke ; but, meantime, I am not disposed to be led away from the real point of the argument with which I undertook to deal, on the trail of every false or useless issue which it may suit Mr. M'Henry to raise.

I am, &c.,

J. E. CAIRNES.

74, Lower Mount-street, Dublin, Dec. 27, 1862.

THE END.















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